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PRESENT TRENDS IN
JAPANESE SOCIOLOGY

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In the early stages of the development of both Japanese and American sociology, German patterns of sociological theory played a dominant role. Japanese as well as American students enrolled in German universities and studied under such well-known scholars as Ferdinand Tonnies, Georg Simmel, Max Weber, Alfred Vierkandt, Leopold von Wiese, Werner Sombart, and others whose lectures and published works so greatly influenced the expansion of sociology in both the East and the West. In America the vogue of German scholarship declined after the First World War, and, stimulated by the financial support of the Rockefeller and other Foundations during the 1920's, American sociologists turned their attention to empirical studies and built up a distinctively American type of sociology with increasing emphasis upon quantitative methods of social research.

In Japan, however, German patterns of thought remained dominant, and during the 1920's and 1930's Japanese students specializing in sociology continued to pursue their graduate studies in German universities. In both Japan and Germany, conflicts with government officials were avoided by making sociology an adjunct of philosophy and concentrating attention upon abstract concepts that had little bearing upon practical problems. Lack of funds was no doubt also a factor in the emphasis on library research which was far less expensive than field studies of their own institutions.

The new era in Japanese sociology began with the establishment of a democratic government at the end of the last war. With freedom of thought guaranteed by the new constitution, social research came to the forefront of attention. A large number of younger sociologists began to

make studies of rural communities. Although hampered by lack of funds, investigations designed to throw light on social conditions and problems were undertaken. At the annual meeting of the Japan Sociological Society in 1954, 43 out of the 76 papers read on that occasion were reports of investigations of agriculture and fishing villages, and field studies dealing with problems of the family, industry and labor, morals and religion, education, delinquency and crime, population, and ethnic groups. This is in striking contrast to the meetings of the Society during the 1930's, when almost the entire emphasis was upon discussion of sociological theories.

In 1951 a research group for the study of criminal sociology was organized with a membership of 53, and in 1954 its first Bulletin was issued giving reports of investigations in this field. About the same time there was set up a project for the study of social tensions in various fields including the family, rural community, industrial conditions, and political parties. A social-psychological study of the family was also undertaken, and investigations were made of divorce and methods of dealing with this problem.

While considerable progress in the study of social conditions and problems was made, sociologists in Japan have had very little relationship with social work and social reform, and they lack this stimulus to research in current social problems, which has been such an important factor in American sociology. The community study as a means of promoting community improvement is an American aspect of social research that has not yet taken root in Japan. Much of the emphasis on social research, as it at present is carried on, tends to be concerned chiefly with academic questions, in which most of the sociologists still maintain their primary interest.

In 1954 the Liaison Committee of the Japan Sociological Society conducted an inquiry for the purpose of determining the status of empirical studies and the attitude of sociologists toward current progress in this field. The results showed that those who specialize in social theory do not ordinarily turn to field studies for data to support their conclusions. While a few representatives of this group do participate in empirical research, the majority are very critical of this new development. Even among those whose special interest is in rural society, industrial sociology, or social pathology, there are found critics of the new emphasis on study of Japanese conditions and problems. Much of this criticism, of course, is directed against ill-planned and superficial types of research that are promoted by incompetent persons. But at the present stage of development of social research in Japan, there is a tendency for

sociologists in general to be somewhat critical of the progress made in this field. Unless more ample funds become available to finance research projects, practical field studies may remain only a minor feature of Japanese sociology.

The postwar emphasis on social research has been greatly stimulated by American contacts during the past decade. The inclusion of social studies in the public school curriculum, which was brought about by the Educational Section of the Army of Occupation, drew attention to the need of local community surveys. The new group of social science teachers turned to the sociologists for guidance in teaching this subject, and this led to the establishment of an introductory course in sociology in the teacher training colleges. There is no doubt that this was an important factor in stimulating greater emphasis upon sociology in the universities.

At least eight Japanese sociologists have recently visited American universities, where they had an opportunity to become acquainted with current research methods. Several American sociologists under Fulbright grants have given lectures in Japanese universities. Dr. George Lundberg's *Social Research* has been translated into Japanese and is used in courses dealing with methods of research. A few of the younger group of sociologists have been competently trained in statistics and are giving leadership in the use of quantitative methods. The publication in 1954 of *Gendai Amerika Shakaigaku (Contemporary American Sociology)*, edited by Toshio Hayase and Akio Baba, has made available to Japanese sociologists the recent trends and present status of American sociology. Nine contributors discuss such topics as history and characteristics of American sociology, sociological theories, social psychology, social ecology, sociometry, social research, and cultural anthropology. In addition, the volume contains a biography and list of publications of sixteen American sociologists and anthropologists.

The trend toward more emphasis on empirical studies has not yet been accompanied by other basic changes in the organization and development of sociology in Japanese universities. Despite the educational reforms initiated by the Educational Section of the Army of Occupation, Japanese universities still follow essentially the German plan in their departmental organization and methods of instruction. In the larger universities that maintain strong departments of sociology, the school of thought that is developed tends to be perpetuated by the system of inbreeding in faculty appointments which is a characteristic of Japanese universities. When vacancies occur, the positions are filled, if possible, by younger members of the department instead of seeking candidates

elsewhere. The sociological faculty of Tokyo University consists entirely of its own graduates and this has been true for many years. It should be added that the majority of the sociologists now teaching in departments in other universities are graduates of Tokyo University. The continuation of the former system of university organization appears also in the fact that sociology is not classified with economics or with any of the other social sciences, but is usually a subdivision of the faculty of letters, where it takes its place along with philosophy and literature.

In only 20 of the 228 universities are there departments of sociology authorized to grant graduate degrees. These departments usually consist of one or two subdivisions, each including one professor and one or more assistant professors. The Tokyo University Department of Sociology, which easily stands first in prestige and leadership, consists at present of one professor, three assistant professors, and four visiting lecturers. In the Kyoto University Department of Sociology there are one professor, one assistant professor, and five visiting lecturers. In Tokyo Educational University, the sociology staff consists of two professors, two assistant professors, and four visiting lecturers. The department of sociology in some of the 20 universities that grant graduate degrees may consist of only one professor and an assistant professor. When comparison is made with the faculty of economics which in some universities may consist of 20 or more professors, it is readily apparent that sociology still occupies a minor position in academic circles.

Because of the small instructional staff, the number of courses available for undergraduate and graduate students is often very limited. Especially is this true in the government universities, where the usual teaching load is 6 hours per week, comprising three 2-hour courses each semester.[1] In Tokyo University the sociology courses offered in 1956 consisted of 11 on the undergraduate level and 4 graduate courses. Among the undergraduate courses were Outline of Sociology, History of Sociology, Rural Village Community, Public Opinion and Propaganda, Methods of Social Research, The Intellectual Class, and the Modern Family. The graduate courses comprised Methods of Social Research, Research Methods of Rural Society, Unorganized Groups, and The Village Community in Relation to National Political Structure. In addition, each professor conducts each semester a seminar in sociology, the subject matter of which may vary from time to time, thus greatly enlarging the number of topics covered. In other universities where there is a smaller sociology staff, the number of courses is more limited.

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[1] In private universities, where the salary may be based on the number of courses taught, the teaching load is ordinarily much heavier.

In general, the American emphasis on completing a wide variety of courses and accumulating a considerable number of course credits has no parallel in the Japanese system of university education. On the contrary, the Japanese insist on a high degree of specialization with much emphasis on independent study in the field of the graduate thesis. The Japanese professor narrowly specializes in one field and offers courses only in the subjects in which he has most competence. The tendency of some American professors to spread their instruction over a wider field is regarded by the Japanese as an unfortunate lowering of standards of university scholarship.

While only 20 of the 228 national, municipal, and private universities give graduate degrees in sociology, there are 15 other universities that have sociology departments. And in all the universities, including also the 268 junior colleges, an introductory course in sociology is either elective or required. In some institutions, however, this course may be taught by an instructor who has not specialized in this subject.

When an examination is made of the general outline and topics discussed in postwar sociological books, it is apparent that they still tend to follow traditional lines. It is significant that no American introductory textbook has yet been translated into Japanese. In general, the type of introductory text in sociology that is commonly used in American universities has not been followed as a pattern by Japanese sociologists. The differences in subject matter and in point of view are too great to make this practicable. A beginning, however, has been made in publishing books for introductory courses in which data secured from Japanese field studies are used in the discussion of the traditional sociological concepts. Recent examples of this trend are Dr. Yuzuru Okada's *Shakaigaku Gairon* (*Outline of Sociology*) and Dr. Tadashi Fukutake's and Dr. Rokuro Hidaka's *Shakaigaku: Shakai to Bunka no Kisoriron* (*Sociology: Basic Theories of Society and Culture*). While the titles of chapters in these books are very similar to those commonly found, the authors, who are leading advocates of the growing trend toward social research, have made wide use of data gleaned from research projects carried on during recent years. Since Drs. Fukutake and Hidaka have the prestige of being members of the faculty of Tokyo University, their book is being widely used and represents a trend toward the development of a sociology based on studies of Japanese institutions.

One of the distinctive features of Japanese sociology is its close relation with cultural anthropology, or ethnology as it is frequently called in Japan. When the Japanese use the term "anthropology," they usually have in mind physical anthropology. Thirty-two of the leading Japanese

sociologists have membership also in the Japanese society of ethnology. Not only is the borderline between sociology and cultural anthropology to a large extent ignored, but sociological research tends at times to follow anthropological patterns. This is seen especially in the tendency of rural sociologists to make investigations in isolated mountain villages where they can study old customs and practices which have largely disappeared from more urbanized areas. This anthropological influence can be seen also in studies of the Japanese family and in university courses dealing with this subject in which emphasis is placed on family kinship systems and little attention is paid to the psychological inter-relations of family members and to problems arising within the family.

The present trend toward empirical studies of Japanese institutions is without doubt making sociology a more popular as well as useful field of study. The Japan Sociological Society, which was organized in 1924, now has 815 members. Every autumn this society holds an annual meeting, and an official journal, *Shakaigaku Hyoron* (*Japanese Sociological Review*), is issued quarterly. There are also four divisional societies which hold annual meetings every spring in different regions of the country. It is estimated that the professional sociologists number more than 200, the majority of whom occupy teaching positions in universities.

While it is clear that Japanese sociology is still characterized by features largely adapted from earlier European patterns, the influence of American sociology has been greatly expanding during these postwar years. This influence is at present largely one-sided, because American sociologists have so few opportunities to become acquainted with Japanese sociological thought. Perhaps in the future, through translations of Japanese publications, American students may have more frequent access to Japanese contributions to knowledge.

INTERNATIONAL TRENDS IN
JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

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Juvenile delinquency is an old problem, a problem which has increased in extent and intensity during the past two decades. The world upheaval caused by World War II and subsequent international disturbances, coupled with the dynamic conditions of modern society, have produced noticeable increases in both juvenile delinquency and adult crime. But it is exceedingly difficult to ascertain with any degree of accuracy the major international trends in juvenile delinquency, owing to the variations in criminal laws and the extent of law violation, the methods of dealing with offenders, the systems of reporting crime, and the effectiveness of preventive measures.

The interest in the spread of delinquency is evidenced by the number of studies that have been made of the problem and the volume of published material on the subject. The Division of Social Welfare, Department of Social Affairs, of the United Nations has sponsored studies of delinquency and has conducted regional consultative conferences which have produced important information relative to certain phases of the problem of juvenile delinquency. The reports of these studies and conferences are used chiefly as the basic data regarding international trends reported in this article. Well-known experts were invited to prepare five regional reports on North America, Europe, Latin America, Asia and the Far East, and the Middle East, using as their material the government replies to the United Nations questionnaire on the treatment of juvenile delinquents and various other official sources.[1] The International Review of Criminal Policy has been published since January 1952. The articles and reports in this publication are primarily devoted to the methods employed in the treatment of offenders and in the prevention of crime, which may be appropriately described as "applied criminological science." These types of publications have been supplemented by documents on probation and related measures and on child and youth welfare programs.

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[1] The publications are entitled Comparative Survey on Juvenile Delinquency: Part I. North America (1952); Part II. Europe (1952); Part III. Latin America (1953); Part IV. Asia and the Far East (1953); and Part V. Middle East (1953).

The topical bibliographies of current literature on crime and delinquency, published in the earlier issues of the *International Review of Criminal Policy,* indicate the extent of publications in this field.[2] Even though it is not possible to obtain a complete list of publications on various phases of crime and delinquency, the bibliographies that have been published by the United Nations contain more than 1,800 technical or semitechnical publications per year; at least this seems to have been the production rate during the first three years of the present decade.

Attempts to achieve international cooperation with respect to the treatment of offenders and the prevention of crime preceded the work of the United Nations, which was mainly the by-product of the growth of a more scientific approach to the problem of crime. A number of international nongovernmental organizations and world conferences on crime have stimulated interest in various phases of the problem of crime and have also aided in doing something about the spread of crime.

When the Social Commission of the United Nations considered that the constructive handling of the problem of young delinquents and of neglected children who are likely to develop criminal tendencies unless properly dealt with at an early stage was an important function assigned to the United Nations in the field of social defense, the efforts in delinquency prevention received a new impetus. The Secretariat considered that

internation action in the field of juvenile delinquency necessarily implied: (a) a dynamic programme in which a balance should be maintained as much as possible between research and practical action; (b) co-ordination between other social policies such as those dealing with social services; housing, community development and social defense policy; and (c) co-operation between the United Nations and the specialized agencies and non-governmental organizations interested in the problem of juvenile delinquency.[3]

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2 No. 1 (January 1952) lists 1,992 articles which were published from January 1950 to June 1951, compiled from 124 periodicals directly or indirectly concerned with various phases of crime and 195 secondary references. No. 2 (July 1952) gives a topical bibliography of 979 publications other than periodical literature (books, pamphlets, etc.), including significant and analytical reviews of these publications. No. 3 (January 1953) contains a limited bibliography of 86 references (approximate period, January 1948 to June 1952) on medico-psychological and social examinations of offenders. No. 4 (July 1953) has a list of 1,227 references (books, pamphlets, and periodical articles), delimited somewhat more narrowly in scope than the earlier bibliographies. No. 6 (July 1954) has a similar topical bibliography of 1,248 references to technical publications. No. 5 (1954) and No. 7-8 (1955) do not have bibliographies. For other publications on crime, delinquency, probation, and related subjects, published by the United Nations, see "A Selection of Social Publications of the United Nations," New York, 1956.

3 Cf. *International Review of Criminal Policy,* United Nations, No. 7-8, January-July 1955, p. 6.

This policy accounts for the extent of information assembled on specific measures of prevention of delinquency, treatment of offenders, courts and agencies with jurisdiction over juveniles, changes in legislation and the variations in criminal laws, and related matters. Limited data on the causes of juvenile delinquency, and the relation between causation and the prediction of delinquent behavior, are presented.

The concepts in the field of delinquency are undergoing marked changes and vary considerably in accordance with national and regional differences in backgrounds. They often vary considerably in different parts of the same country. However, two broad criteria which make up the main conception of delinquency are (a) the nonadult status of the person concerned and (b) that the act on the part of such a person is regarded as delinquent behavior according to the laws of the country. But the discussions in the seminars which were held in Europe, Latin America, Middle East, and Asia and the Far East, under the auspices of the United Nations, revealed considerable divergencies of views with respect to such matters as the lower and upper age limits of persons who may be regarded as delinquents, the specific acts which are defined by criminal law as delinquencies, and the inclusiveness of the term "delinquency."

Where English legal precedents prevail, the lower age limit of discernment is usually fixed at either seven or eight years of age, but the Latin American Seminar (Rio de Janeiro, 1953) recommended that "States should fix a uniform age of minority (which should in no case be less than the age of fourteen years) for the purpose of criminal law below which a minor would not be capable of incurring liability."[4] The Middle East Seminar (Cairo, 1953) expressed a tendency to do away with the lower age limit altogether, thus dispensing with the concept of criminal responsibility.

The upper age limit is the dividing line below which a person is regarded as a juvenile. The range of the upper limits is from fourteen years in Haiti and Dominica to twenty-one years in Chile, the states of Arkansas, California, and Wyoming (female) in the United States, and the British Solomon Islands. The most common upper age limits range from fifteen to eighteen years. There is a noticeable trend to raise the upper age limit of juvenile court jurisdiction. Some countries designate several age groups, each with different emphasis of discernment and

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[4] Cf. *International Review of Criminal Policy*, United Nations, No. 7-8, January-July 1955, p. 13. For fuller discussion of this point, consult *Comparative Survey on Juvenile Delinquency*, Part III. Latin America, 1953. Part IV. Asia and the Far East, 1953, and Part V. Middle East, 1953, indicate wide ranges of both the lower and upper age limits in the countries of these regions with respect to juvenile court jurisdiction.

methods of treatment. For instance, in France, juveniles between the ages of 13 and 16 receive less severe treatment than those between ages 16 and 18 for the same kind of offense. In Sweden, juveniles are subdivided into two age groups: from 15 to 18 and from 18 to 21, the treatment of offenders in each group being governed by somewhat different provisions.

Originally, the term "juvenile delinquency" referred exclusively to minors having committed offenses defined by criminal codes. There is a trend in different countries in favor of placing under the jurisdiction of juvenile courts and related administrative agencies not only the violators of criminal codes but the predelinquent (or potentially delinquent) juveniles who are in need of special forms of treatment, even though their deviant behavior is not specifically designated by law as constituting delinquency. Children in need of care and protection by reason of unfavorable circumstances over which they have little or no control are likewise placed under the jurisdiction of legally constituted authorities in various countries. There is no unanimity of opinion regarding the inclusiveness of the concept "delinquency" or of the jurisdictions of courts. The salient feature of the divergent and often controversial views is that juveniles who have committed acts in violation of criminal laws should be regarded as offenders and not as ordinary criminals.

The passage of new legislation on juvenile delinquency and the change or discontinuance of old laws have grown out of the changing conception of what constitutes delinquency and the functions of juvenile courts and other administrative bodies. Changes in legislation have affected the methods of treatment of delinquent or maladjusted children and the statistics of the extent of juvenile delinquency.

The increase of juvenile delinquency has been stressed as a problem affecting, with few exceptions, all countries; but the available statistics are inadequate to substantiate the contention that a veritable epidemic of law violation has swept over the entire world. In some areas of the world, such as parts of Latin America, Asia and the Far East, the Middle East, and Africa, juvenile delinquency has only recently become a problem of concern. In countries where statistics of delinquency are to be found, great caution must be used in drawing conclusions from them. Comparative statistics of different countries have little value because of the variation in legislation, in methods of treatment, and in reporting cases. Crime is not regarded at the same stage in the statistics of the countries concerned. Statistics are valid only in perspective of a country's total correctional system and must be assessed chiefly in relation to the stage of legislation and of the correctional system. They refer only to

figures which have been reported. However, those who deal profession-
ally with delinquents seem to be in agreement that law violation among
juveniles has become a serious problem.

The information on causal factors of juvenile delinquency is limited
to specific studies. In some countries very little has been done to ascertain
the reasons for the increase of law violation. It is pointed out that the
problem becomes a matter of special concern in those countries where
industrialization and urbanization have increased and where there has
been a disintegration of the traditional way of life. In some areas the
problem is confined to the great centers of population; rural and sparsely
settled territories have fewer delinquents. In societies where the tribe or
clan still plays a powerful role or where the handling of deviants is
entrusted to the family or clan, there is little need for more formal
machinery of law enforcement.

The trend is to emphasize multiple causes and the interrelationship of
causal factors. This calls for an interdisciplinary approach and empha-
sis.[5] Even those who stress primarily one approach, using data from
different parts of the world, recognize other types of conditioning
factors.[6] Whatever the methods used to ascertain the etiology of crime
and delinquency, they must be appropriate to the conditions and prob-
lems inherent in a given area.

Among the numerous variables that may be directly or indirectly
related to juvenile delinquency, the following are noted as of consider-
able significance: age factor (delinquency increases with age), sex differ-
ences (law violation is more common among males than among fe-
males), mental backwardness and lack of education, family organization,
growth of industrialization and urbanization, unpleasant and unhygienic
living quarters in urban areas, economic distress, and general conditions
of social disorganization in the area. In some instances improvement in
standards of living has added to disorganization, but usually children of
the lower economic and social classes have the highest rates of delin-
quency. Offenses against property always predominate, which seems to
indicate that necessity is an important causative factor. Delinquency is
less frequent among indigenous minors than among minors of other
ethnic groups (more of the former live in rural areas). Ethnic differ-
ences influence irregular conduct in exceptional cases. Illegitimate birth
is not as decisive a factor in delinquency as may be assumed.

  [5] Cf. Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, *Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency*
(Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1950).
  [6] Cf. L. Bovet, *Psychiatric Aspects of Juvenile Delinquency* (Palais Des
Nations, Geneva, Switzerland: World Health Organization, 1951); *International
Review of Criminal Policy* (No. 3, January 1953). The first reference deals
chiefly with psychiatric causes and the second with medicopsychological factors,
but both give certain social data.

The material on the treatment of juvenile offenders is extensive, especially with respect to juvenile courts and other agencies with jurisdiction over juveniles, the treatment in freedom (probation and foster-home care), treatment in institutions (public and private), and procedures of release and after-care. Even though great variations exist in different parts of the world in stages or degrees of advancement of modern methods of dealing with offenders, progress is being made in nearly all advanced countries in certain aspects of the treatment processes. The progress that has been made in England and Wales, and in some of the countries of the British Commonwealth, notably the Borstal System of training young offenders, is especially noteworthy. The role of juvenile courts is not uniformly recognized, but improvements have been made in the organization and functions of courts, the conduct of court proceedings, and in jurisdictions. Improvements have likewise been made in detection, police protection, observation and case studies, probation, detention services, long-term institutional care and after-care, and the training of personnel in the agencies that deal with juveniles. It is broadly true that nearly all countries have enacted the necessary legislation and regulations for the treatment of juvenile offenders.

The need for preventive policies and programs is increasingly being recognized. Direct measures of prevention include programs for the detection and subsequent treatment of juveniles showing marked tendencies toward crime (commonly known as potential or predelinquent juveniles) and more efficient methods of treating offenders that are designed to prevent recidivism. Indirect measures are attempts to improve the social environment of juveniles, particularly living conditions, and the development of nondelinquent patterns of behavior. During recent years the indirect measures have received more attention on the assumption that the general improvement of living conditions should reduce delinquency.

The approaches to prevention vary in accordance with the conception of causation. The role of the State in the preventive program is not clearly defined, but the seminars that were held in the different areas of the world summarized the functions under the following headings: (1) coordination, (2) technical aid and setting standards, (3) finance, (4) control and supervision of services and institutions, (5) state organized services, (6) legislation, and (7) research.

The role of the police in both the treatment of offenders and the prevention of delinquency has been expanded considerably during recent years. The regional reports of the United Nations (*Comparative Survey on Juvenile Delinquency*) indicate that while police officers are generally regarded as responsible for the detection and arrest of delinquents,

there is a growing tendency in many countries to use special police in this respect and to expand their functions to include the treatment of the young or less serious offenders, to act as liaison officers in dealing with parents and teachers, also various types of community agencies, and to participate in preventive programs.

The role of the school in relation to the prevention of delinquency differs from region to region, but the general trend is for the school authorities to assume increasing responsibility for the detection of delinquent tendencies, to provide a more flexible curriculum adapted to the multifarious interests of pupils, and to provide special schools or classes for maladjusted children. Schools are key institutions in communities to spearhead preventive programs.

The role of the community in delinquency prevention is in certain respects analogous to that of the State, except that community action is basically the planning and organizing of services of the local level. More systematic planning, whether on the local or on a broader basis, is particularly needed in an effective preventive program. It is here that the various government and private service agencies can render their most useful services.[7] Recreation centers, youth serving agencies, and churches are of particular significance in providing wholesome and constructive activities for children and young people.

The family is one of the major institutions in any delinquency prevention program. It provides the immediate environment for the socialization of human beings from infancy to maturity. It is in the family that most children learn the norms and values of the social world in which they live.

From the point of view of the social scientists, the most significant trend in delinquency prevention is the growth of research. The volume of literature referred to earlier in this article is an indication of the extent of interest in conducting studies of the problem. An examination of research on the subject of juvenile delinquency indicates two broad categories under which many of the studies may be classified: namely, (1) the studies that deal with the etiology of delinquency behavior and (2) those which evaluate treatment and preventive programs instituted on the basis of the findings of research.

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[7] Cf. Helen L. Witmer and Edith Tufts, *The Effectiveness of Delinquency Prevention Programs* (United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Children's Bureau, 1954).

SOCIOPOLITICAL ATTITUDES OF LEADING NEGRO NEWSPAPERS

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An empirical answer to the question as to whether the Negro press in the United States is radical and subversive or an exponent of the liberal democratic American creed would necessarily rest on a demonstrated espousal of doctrines alien to or consistent with these values. The problem is quite apparently one of content analysis. Research procedures in this area are becoming more or less standardized. One approach makes use of some form of space measurement. Another is based on a symbol list which is used as a stable base of comparison. The latter procedure was used in this study.[1]

We are concerned in this analysis with a group of newspapers designated as "leading" Negro newspapers. Certain specified conditions are imposed as prerequisite to being included in this universe. The newspaper must be listed in a standard newspaper directory, and its circulation verified by a reputable agency. The figures of the Audit Bureau of Circulation are used in this study. Lastly, in order to be included here, the weekly circulations must be 50,000 or more copies. This is, to be sure, an arbitrary figure but one arrived at only after a careful study of the audited circulation of these weeklies had been made. It was found that none of the papers with a national coverage had a circulation below this figure and that this group comprised the most frequently discussed publications among the critics. One newspaper claiming a circulation of more than 50,000 copies, but whose figures were not verified by ABC, was not included in this study.

Turning now to the group of newspapers that meets our specified criteria, we find the largest weekly circulation of any one of them, the *Pittsburgh Courier*, runs to 296,694,[2] while the smallest circulation, that of the *Norfolk Journal and Guide*, is 63,028 copies.[3] There are

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[1] The basic methodology employed in this study has been developed by Laswell and associates. See Harold D. Laswell, "The Politically Significant Content of the Press: Coding Procedures," *Journalism Quarterly*, XIX: 12-24; Laswell, "The World Attention Survey," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, V: 456-62; Phillip Davidson, "An Analysis of the Soviet-Controlled Berlin Press," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, VII: 40-57.

[2] N. W. Ayer and Sons, *Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals* (Philadelphia, 1949).

[3] *Ibid.*

five newspapers in this group. Three are published in the so-called
"balance of power" states (New York, Illinois, and Pennsylvania), one
in an eastern border state (Maryland), the other in the upper South
(Virginia). These newspapers have a total circulation of 831,877 copies.
This represents more than 80 per cent of the total circulation of the 22
Negro newspapers listed in Ayer and Son's *Directory* with an ABC
audit. This figure is also about 42 per cent of the total circulation of
the secular newspapers.

When we turn to a consideration of newspapers other than those on
which our study is based, we find that there is a sharp decline in the
certified circulation of those publications. While the median average
of the five leading weeklies is 189,134 copies, that of the other ABC-
audited Negro papers is 13,164 copies. All of this would seem to indi-
cate that, at least insofar as circulation is concerned, the newspapers
comprising our universe are in a class by themselves. This group con-
stitutes what is known to the Negro newspaperman as "The National
Negro Press." They have a nation-wide circulation and are published in
national, regional or state, and city editions. They stand in sharp con-
trast to the smaller papers with local reading publics, those which, if
taken individually, would be unknown to the vast majority of Negro
readers.

The Sample. Since the present study purports to analyze the politi-
cal content as of a given time and is not a study of trends over a period
of time, the problem of the sample is then to establish first a base period
adequate for a comparative study of the main categories of political
content—domestic and foreign. For this purpose, the year 1948 was
taken as the period of study. During this year a Presidential election
was held, as well as that of many other major elective officials, which
fact served to throw the issues and crosscurrents of domestic politics
into bolder relief. Any consequent increase in the space devoted to
political comment, as during an election year, would have no pertinent
bearing on our sample, since our concern here is not with space measure-
ment, but rather with the attitude expressed with reference to certain
political symbols. The basis for comparison is the symbol and not the
column inch.

During the postwar years Negro newspapers have also had much to say
on international and foreign issues, especially where such issues relate
to the colored peoples of the world. By 1948 the passions generated by
the war had cooled somewhat, while world-wide political comment was
probably more temperate than is the case today. This period is sub-
mitted here as representative of such material appearing in these news-
papers.

A random sample was used in the selection of copies of each newspaper for study. Beginning with the second publication issued in January, every third weekly copy for the remainder of the year was read and its political content recorded on an instrument prepared for that purpose. This resulted in a sample of seventeen copies of each newspaper.[4] The split sample technique was applied as a further check on the adequacy of the sample. The positive scores were added for the odd, and even, consecutive issues of each newspaper. This operation gave 54.44 per cent positive scores for the odd count and 52.47 per cent for the even number. This variability is no more than would be likely to occur in a random sample, since 53.52 per cent of the total number of symbols coded had positive scores.

The politically significant content of the newspapers under investigation is identified in context by the presence of one or more of the symbols from our basic symbol list which has been shown to have political significance. Symbols in such a list have reference to persons, to groups (i.e., nations and their governmental agencies), or to policies or ideas that are related to the shaping or implementation of public policy.

The symbols used in this study were primarily based on the list used in the "The World Attention Survey" of Laswell and associates.[5] Other political symbols that were found to appear frequently in these newspapers during trial reading were added to this list. A basic list of 112 "politically significant" symbols was stabilized with reference to the content of the particular group of papers being studied. While not all of the symbols comprising this list had direct bearing on testing the hypothesis of this study, they were retained and coded when the newspapers were read, since this enabled the writer to gather additional information on the political attitudes of Negro newspapers all in one operation.

The aid of a panel of experts was solicited for the purpose of stabilizing a symbol list for testing the hypothesis. This panel was composed of some of the leading students in American sociology, anthropology, and history. All were students of American cultural dynamics. The following methodological note in the form of a letter was attached to the original symbol list and addressed to each member of the panel:

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[4] J. L. Woodward, in discussing the problem of adequacy of the sample, held that "a week of six consecutive issues, if carefully selected so as to avoid the biasing effects of 'big news stories,' was sufficient to give stable results," *Foreign News in American Newspapers* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1930). See Chapter II.

[5] Laswell, *op. cit.*, pp. 456-62.

The writer is engaged in a study in the area of communications that purports to be an analysis of the politically significant content of a specified group of newspapers. The hypothesis that is being tested is that this group of newspapers under consideration reflects the political ideals and values which are consistent with the liberal democratic "American creed," or the "American Tradition."

Because of your recognized standing as a student of American cultural dynamics, you are one of a few experts requested to participate in this enterprise to the extent of aiding in the stabilization of a basic symbol list significant for testing the aforestated hypothesis.

Please score as (+) those symbols which you consider to be consistent with the American creed, and (—) those symbols which are contrary to the creed. Other symbols (for example, Australia) which have no bearing on the American tradition should be given a neutral score (O). If you feel that there are other significant symbols which are not included please write them in and score them.

Eight persons comprised this panel. Agreement of seven of this number, on any symbol, as being significant for testing the hypothesis, was considered to be sufficient for its inclusion in the revised symbol list. This operation resulted in the stabilization of a list of forty-two symbols, twenty of which were considered by the panel to be consistent with the values enunciated by the American creed, and twenty-two of which were opposed to those values. (See appendix.)

Coding. Each symbol is scored in keeping with the manner in which it is presented in context. When presented in a favorable light it is given a positive (+) score; when presented in an unfavorable light it is given a negative (—) score. Other presentations are neutral. As a check on the reliability of the writers' scoring, a sample of articles was submitted to a group of lay judges for scoring. The logic in the selection of laymen was that the newspapers are addressed to the general reader rather than to the expert. The reaction of the layman then, in the coding of political symbols, should prove a more valid basis for comparison of scoring than that of the hypercritical professional.

The primary concern in the selection of items for coding was to insure a spread of items over the three sections of the newspapers being considered, namely, the personal columns, news, and editorial section. There was an attempt made to obtain a representative distribution of symbols in the items read. The only other consideration was for the time required of the volunteer participants.

Of the seven persons[6] who agreed to take part, one score sheet had to be discarded because quite obviously there was a misunderstanding of

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[6] In this group two were college instructors, although not in the social sciences; two were high school teachers, one an English teacher, the other an instructor in commercial subjects. One participant was a state employee, with college training; another an undergraduate English major; and a housewife, also a college graduate, completed the group.

the instructions. The material to be coded, together with the score
sheets, was left with the respondent, and instructions were given at
that time. The score sheets were called for after the coding had been
completed, since this operation consumes a considerable amount of time.
In only one case was the investigator present when the scoring was done.

Each panel member coded the symbols in a news story, an editorial,
and a personal column, for a combined total of 138 scores. Of this
number of individual judgments, 126 matched those of the investigator.
Stated in percentages, 91.3 per cent of the scores of the panel matched
those of the investigator. There were no absolute contradictions, the
margin of variation being in the neutral category.

We are not, however, making a study of total newspaper space. A
restricted rather than an inclusive base of comparison seemed to be more
practical, since it can be demonstrated upon examination that most of
the politically significant content is to be found in the three following
departments: news stories, editorials, and the personal columns. Our
study is confined to these sections, even though some of the symbols may
appear in other departments of the newspapers—in such features as
letters to the editor, the roving reporter, fiction, paid political advertise-
ments, quotations from other newspapers, society news, and the like.
Similarly, cartoons, comics, and other drawings, which admittedly may
have political import, are not included in this study, since we have as
yet no reliable technique for equating the space-meaning relevance of
such features with the unit—symbol base used here.

A distinction is made here between domestic and foreign political
content. "Foreign News" is identified by its source of origin from out-
side the United States, as for example London, Johannesburg, or Buenos
Aires. Foreign news then is to be distinguished from news features about
foreign countries which are of domestic origin.

The basic unit of comparison in this study is the article. Other units
such as the sentence, or paragraph, are theoretically possible, but it
appeared after a close survey of many copies of these newspapers that the
use of a smaller "specified context"—that portion of the text to be
read in determining how the symbol is presented—than the article
would neither be necessary nor justify the additional time required in
working with a smaller base.

The "recording unit" made use of in this research is likewise the
article. By recording unit is meant the range of text for which a symbol
is tabulated with the unit weight of 1, even though the symbol may
occur more than once in the given range of text. This, of course, is
another way of saying that we are using a weighted symbol list and that
in our basic unit, the article, each politically significant symbol is scored

only once. Thus the symbol presented in each specified context, whether favorable or unfavorable, is tabulated with the unit weight of 1.

The Press and the Creed. It may be recalled that this inquiry was undertaken in order to examine more closely a certain kind of thinking regarding Negro newspapers—more specifically, to examine the view that they were "radical," "subversive," and "communistic." The hypothesis underlying the investigation was that they were indigenous in their orientation, rather than alien to the "American tradition." As stated earlier, in order to test this hypothesis the panel of experts was asked to select from the original list of 112 political symbols those that were consistent with the "American tradition" and those that were contrary to it. They agreed on a list of 42 symbols, 20 of which were consistent with the creed and 22 of which opposed this set of values. This section of the report concerns itself with an analysis of the findings.

The revised symbol list was isolated and the original codes checked off on a second instrument for a closer scrutiny and then tabulated. The three sections—news, personal columns, and editorials—remained the basic categories under which the scores were classified. There were over five thousand separate tabulations of these symbols.

If the number of occurrences of a given symbol in a specified sample is an indication of the emphasis intended—and all such quantitative studies operate on the assumption that such is the case—then the identification of these newspapers with subversive, or communistic, political leanings is not sustained. One fact that stands out is the relative infrequency of such symbols. By selecting from the list those symbols which may be considered subversive and red (anarchy, Bolshevism, communism, Stalin), it is found that the entire group is scored only 210 times. If this is meant to be a point of emphasis, it is unimpressive when we consider that in all over 5,000 scores were recorded. Protest against discrimination and segregation, for example, both of which are likewise considered to be contrary to the creed, accounted for over 1,100 scores.

It is when we compare the percentages of favorable and unfavorable scores, with reference to the alleged communistic leanings of these newspapers, that it becomes even more apparent that this view is lacking in demonstrable evidence. Only 6.19 per cent of such scores were favorable to the "red" symbols, while 55.19 per cent were unfavorable to these symbols.

We may then raise the question basic to our study. If, as the evidence indicates, the view that there is an identification of this group of newspapers with communism is, to say the least, an uninformed point of view, then does the evidence sustain the hypothesis underlying the study?

It is still necessary to inquire whether these newspapers reflect the political ideals and values which are consistent with the liberal democratic American tradition.

The answer to this question would necessarily hinge, or so it would seem, on the consistency in the scoring of those symbols which reflect the historical values of American culture and likewise those symbols alien to it.

As shown here, those symbols reflecting the values of American society were coded nearly 3,000 times. Eighty-eight per cent of these scores were positive or favorable to these symbols, while 2.95 per cent were negative. Since the positive score is an index of approval, we can only conclude that these newspapers give their overwhelming endorsement to the set of values underlying the ideal pattern discussed in the news and being advocated with considerable heat in the sections of opinion.

But if these newspapers give their unqualified support to the ideal pattern of American democratic society, they reject with equal vehemence some of the prevailing sets of relationships which constitute the real pattern. In speaking for a racial minority, they are particularly critical of the denial to this minority of citizenship rights applicable to other men. It is apparently this criticism of the discrepancy between the ideal pattern and the real—the things America professes and the things it does—that has brought them to the attention of many public figures and has aroused in some considerable resentment and charges of communism. In the order of frequency of occurrence of the respective symbols, these newspapers speak out for civil liberties, equality, the franchise, democracy, the Supreme Court, and the Constitution. They register their disapproval of segregation, discrimination, racism, communism, and the poll tax.

Summary and Conclusions. It may now be helpful to bring together some of the more significant inferences which may be derived from the statistical data presented in this study and to make a mental note of possible broader implications which would seem to be tenable. (1) The central hypothesis that was being tested—namely, that the Negro newspapers reflect those values consistent with the "American tradition," rather than the espousal of doctrines alien to it—was sustained. (2) The fundamental concern of the political comment in these Negro papers is with the promotion of civil liberties and other citizenship rights for the whole population. (3) There is uncompromising rejection of the social practices affecting adversely the status and role of colored minorities in American society. Segregation and discrimination lead the

list of such rejected practices. (4) The relatively infrequent use of communist symbols eliminates this focus as a point of major emphasis in these Negro papers. The attitudes expressed toward these symbols when used were almost entirely unfavorable. (5) Great faith was manifested in the Constitution of the United States and in the Supreme Court, both of which were viewed as instruments favorable to the achievement of the aspirations of minorities.

While in the thinking of many publicists and professional patriots, any criticism of America or its institutions is considered to be the psychological equivalent of disloyalty, or subversive activity, it should not be overlooked that the climate of opinion is an important variable in the definition of the act. It goes without saying that criticism and reform have historically been part and parcel of the American story. They are not in themselves alien to the American dream, but have been oriented toward its realization. Social reform and the idea of progress are complementary and social reformers have played a significant role in the realization of the idea.

JEWISH CASTES OF COCHIN, INDIA

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The expansion of the field of research on society since World War II is bringing to light data on human groups that were in the past either unknown or overlooked by social scientists. One of these segments which is a blank spot in the field of social research, especially here in the West, is the Jewish caste community of Cochin, India, a small state on the southwest coast of India, approximately 170 miles off the southernmost tip of the Indian peninsula. It was just by chance that during a short visit to India by the senior author in 1953 he heard of the Cochin Jewish castes, and through inquiry in India and subsequent research here, both institutional and by query of students of Jewish history, sociology, and anthropology, some data were assembled that have enabled the authors to bring these Jewish castes of Cochin into the focus of sociological research here.

The Jewish community in Cochin dates back many centuries. Some of the Jews there trace their arrival to as early as 587 B.C. and maintain that they are descendants of the refugees who fled Palestine after the destruction of the first temple. Others claim descent from Jewish refugees who fled to India after the fall of the second temple in 70 A.D. It is known, however, with certainty that there were Jews in Cochin during the early centuries of Christianity. These historical beginnings are important because a basic element in the strong intercaste differences among the present Cochin Jews revolves around the question of prior origin. Actually, very little is known about the original Jews of Cochin, for few written records have survived and the earliest available documents are two copper tablets mentioning a thriving Jewish community during the Middle Ages on the Malabar coast. These Jews remained here until 1341, when their principal settlement of Cranganore was destroyed and they left, going on to Cochin, which was then developing into a new commercial center. The first Jewish synagogue in Cochin dates back to 1344.[1]

In understanding the present strong intercaste antagonism the copper tablets shed no light, since they do not mention the existence of separate castes and the first available information about such does not appear

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[1] E. Macgarlan, "The Racial Affinities of the Cochin Jews," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 3:4; Lord Henry, *Jews in India and the Far East* (Kolaphur: Mission Press, 1907).

until much later with the coming of the Dutch to Malabar. In the sixteenth century the Portuguese invasion made it possible for many Jewish refugees from Spain to come to India to escape the Inquisition, and upon arrival in Cochin they set up an exclusive group, refusing to associate with the great mass of Malabar Jews. In a land where caste distinctions were already an ingrained feature of the social structure, as the years passed the distinction between Spanish refugee Jews and other Jews deepened. After the Dutch conquest of Cochin in the seventeenth century, Dutch Jews sent a committee to Malabar to trace the origin of the Cochin Jews and the nature of their community. The findings of this body were published in 1687 and indicate that the caste stratification of that time was very much like the present division.[2]

According to the latest census (1948) of this group, there were 1,451 Jews in Cochin, comprising two major Jewish caste communities based on color, the White and Black Jews, and a minor subcaste of Brown Jews. The origin of caste designation by complexion is unknown but may have developed from European travelers in India in the fifteenth century who had experience only with European Jews of rather uniform fair complexion; the discovery of Jews of color filled them with surprise and they classified them accordingly.[3]

Caste hierarchy ranks the White Jews, though a minority of only 80, at the top. Most of these are merchants who became rich during the years of British rule. In order to preserve the "purity" of their stock they deny any Indian ancestry and practice endogamy in marriage. However, when occasional exogamous unions are made, rather than mix with Jews of other castes, they marry non-Jewish traders from outside Cochin. As a result, the White Jews are highly inbred. This bar on marriage with other Jewish castes is now not merely a social barrier but has become a religious ban, or an actual disqualification on the part of any Black or Brown Jew to marry with a White one. White Jews range from pale white to medium brown and physically resemble what are classified anthropologically as Mediterranean types. The White caste is the wealthier and more influential community; its members are better educated, more responsive to Western influence, and better known outside Cochin. Today they are a heterogeneous group consisting largely of Jews of German, Spanish, and Egyptian descent, with others claiming roots stemming from Aleppo, Turkey, and Yemen.[4]

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[2] A. I. Iyev, *Jewish Affairs* (Johannesburg, 1952); D. Mandelbaum, "The Jewish Way of Life in Cochin," *Jewish Social Studies*, 1:440.

[3] Lord Henry, *op. cit.*, p. 250.

[4] *Ibid.*; E. Macgarlan, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

The Black Jews make up the largest element in the Jewish community, numbering 1,307; but, like the White Jews, because of their isolation and exclusiveness they, too, are becoming a shrinking group. They are largely brown in color and generally resemble Arab physical types. Most of them are poor and illiterate, and their houses are usually mud hovels; their language is an Indian dialect. Both men and women wear colored skull caps and go bare above the waist. As for the Brown Jews, colorwise they are almost identical with the Black, with whom they do not associate but form a third separate group or subcaste within the Cochin Jewish settlement. Locally they are called the "Meshuchraraim" or manumitted ones; it is assumed that they are descendants from the union of Jews and native slave girl concubines in early times who were converted and, in accordance with local Indian custom, the children from these unions were freed. There are now less than a score of Brown Jews in Cochin. They worship in the White synagogue, but in general as a group they are very much discriminated against, and until very recently even in the synagogue they were forced to sit on the floor of the anteroom and not permitted within the synagogue proper. There is no intermarriage between them and the Whites, in spite of synagogue privileges. In the past they married among themselves, but now they are such a small minority that this is no longer possible, and it would seem that unless outmarriage is indulged in they will in time disappear as an entity.[5]

Although isolated for a long time from the main currents of contemporary Jewish life outside India, the present Jewish caste community has been able to maintain its Jewish heritage. Today social conditions among them are very much governed by their religion, the Sabbath and dietary laws; seldom do they eat with their Hindu or Mohammedan neighbors, and they do not share their personal or group problems with them. They are strong in their reliance on faith. The cause of their social separation from the larger society stems in part from their oppression in Europe and other countries. "They still look forward for Messiah and wait for heaven to send them a leader under whose guidance they will gain the splendor and supremacy which they claim to be theirs." While religion sets the Jewish castes apart from the over-all Indian society, the Cochin Jews are not abased by this separation, since they show no inclination to assimilate on a social and cultural level with the surrounding people. In their religion they preserve Jewish traits through the instrument of the synagogue, since it embraces and

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[5] E. Macgarlan, *op. cit.,* p. 4; D. Mandelbaum, *op. cit.,* p. 440.

penetrates all phases of their group culture, serves the need of social life, and is an integrating factor in their restricted society.[6]

Nevertheless, in spite of this closeness of identity in faith, there is deep division in the community, the group being very rigidly divided along social caste lines. This division has remained firm despite the close proximity of the various castes in their daily mingling in what is known as "Jew Street" (the Jewish ghetto) in Cochin, and with this caste separation resulting in the continued refusal to worship, intermarry, or dine together to such an extent that as yet there is almost no social intercourse between them.[7]

Of late, however, a leavening force is beginning to intrude through the medium of the younger generation of both the Black and White castes. These youth deplore the antagonism that has been engendered by the caste system and they are starting to mingle with one another at social functions that of late are occasionally being held jointly. Further evidence of this breach in caste barriers was the revolt by members of the Brown subcaste in the White synagogue. The Brown caste members threatened to use passive resistance unless there was an amelioration in restrictions upon them and they were supported in their protest by the educated youth of the White caste, who informed their elders that they would not worship at the synagogue unless the restrictions were lifted; the elders finally acceded and now the Brown caste Jews are accorded seats in the synagogue, are called to law, and have cemetery burial rights heretofore denied them. Some of the young people have found another solution also to the caste problem by emigrating to Israel, and this idea is becoming attractive to even older members of the community.[8]

The brief overview here of this little-known group has attempted to do no more than bring the Cochin Jewish castes into the sociological scene as a possible subject for further and more intensive research. For it is felt that considering the fundamental changes going on in contemporary India, especially those involving the official banning of castes and the government's efforts to create an equalitarian society, as well as the attraction for this particular group raised by the emergence of the state of Israel, research on the Cochin Jewish castes has something significant and important to contribute to the study of caste and minority problems, the field of social distance research, as well as to the general theory of social change.

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[6] A. I. Iyev, *Castes and Tribes of Cochin* (London: 1939).

[7] L. I. Rabinowitz, *A Jewish Wedding in South India* (Johannesburg: Eagle Press, n.d.).

[8] H. S. Keshimar, *History of Bnei Israel of India* (Tel Aviv: Dayag Press, Ltd., 1937); Y. DeCastro, *Israel Speaks* (New York: March 19, 1954).

SOCIAL DISTANCE
AMONG FOREIGN STUDENTS

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The present study deals with social distance among foreign students of Purdue University. In 1955, when this study was made, there were 358 such students at Purdue. Because of the predominantly statistical nature of the project, however, countries represented by less than 10 students were not included unless they could be grouped together in somewhat homogeneous groups, such as Latin Americans and Scandinavians. The resulting groups that were studied, therefore, were Hawaiians, Latin Americans, Chinese, East Indians, Filipinos, Greeks, and Scandinavians—a total of 198 students.

The Bogardus Social Distance Scale was used.[1] The validity and reliability as well as the brevity and concreteness of this Scale render this research technique a useful one. It also has nearly universal applicability.

The writer introduces here what he has called the Mean Social Distance, or M.S.D. This is the same as what Bogardus has called the Group Racial Distance Quotient, or G.R.D.Q.[2] Bogardus first obtained the arithmetic average of the numbers of the lowest columns checked on his Scale by a given person for all the 40 races on the Scale. He called this the Racial Distance Quotient of each participant in a given group of persons filling out the Scale. Then he took the arithmetic average of Racial Distance Quotients of all the members of the given group toward each of the 40 races, which is his Group Racial Distance Quotient of the given group for each of the races on the Scale. This is the same as the writer's M.S.D.—the adjective "racial" has been avoided because of its biological emphasis. In the present study, however, this measure represents the degree of social distance between each of the 7 foreign student groups interviewed and 11—not 40—races and nationalities. Seven of the latter coincided with the 7 groups studied, while the remaining 4 were Caucasoids, Negroids, Mongoloids, and White Americans. This change was made because the writer wished to measure the

[1] Emory S. Bogardus, "A Social Distance Scale," *Sociology and Social Research*, 17 (January-February 1933), pp. 265-71.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 271.

M.S.D. of Purdue's foreign students with reference to groups with which they had extensive contacts. In other words, an effort was made to determine the influence of international and interracial contacts on social distance.

The computation of the numerical values representing the foreign students' responses on the Bogardus Scale gave the following M.S.D.s: Hawaiians, 1.22; East Indians, 1.27; Filipinos, 1.31; Scandinavians, 1.44; Latin Americans, 1.51; Chinese, 1.55; and Greeks, 1.72. When compared with comparable social distance scores of American subjects toward various racial and national groups, as found by various experimenters, these scores are seen to be relatively low.

Not all the reasons for these low scores are clear, but certain ones may offer partial explanations. Although further study is needed, the following points may be stated tentatively. In the first place, these students may have been more or less internationally and interracially minded before coming to this country, or else they would probably not have chosen to come. Their score, for the most part, would be lower than those of their fellow-countrymen who did not want to come to the United States. Second, these students have been in this country varying lengths of time and possibly have outgrown some of the provincialism that they once had. They were all at least two-country minded, that is, they saw life from at least two countries, their own and the United States. Third, closely related to the preceding point is the democratic influence which most of the foreign students feel and appreciate. Many are quick to catch the general spirit of freedom and equality, and this could account in part for the low distance scores. Fourth, international and interracial contacts, with the exception of a few cases characterized by unpleasant experiences, have tended to reduce social distance.[3]

In comparing the Mean Social Distance scores of each of the seven foreign student groups with each of the others, it was found that the results were significant at the 5 per cent level, using composite tests, each consisting of a t', a value obtained from the Duncan-Bonner Tables, and a Satterthwaite approximation, for four pairs of groups, namely, East Indians-Chinese (1.27-1.55), East Indians-Latin Americans (1.27-1.51), Chinese-Hawaiians (1.55-1.22), and Hawaiians-Latin Americans (1.22-1.51). The meanings of these significant comparisons might be learned from extensive and intensive interviews with members of each group. The reasons why all the other comparisons were not significant might also be discovered by the same method.

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[3] See Robin M. Williams, Jr., *The Reduction of Intergroup Tensions* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1947, Bulletin 57), pp. 40-41. Also see H. P. Fairchild, *Race and Nationality as Factors in American Life* (New York: The Ronald Press, 1947), p. 188.

In the Bogardus Scale each of the 40 "races" is probably a generalized group to the respondent. In filling out the Scale each respondent is asked to think of each race as a whole. However, his generalized Turk, for example, is made up out of his personal experiences with individual Turks or with specific groups of them or of what he has heard about Turks. The result is probably an imperfect generalization, but it represents his bases for acting if called on to do so with reference to Turks.

On the other hand, the sample persons interviewed tend to give their reactions more definitely to specific Turks. The interviewee will likely distinguish between "good Turks" and "bad Turks" that he has heard about or has known.

In these social distance studies and similar studies we measure something about the respondent himself. When we measure the liberalism of a group, for instance, we do not deal with liberalism as an object of attention alone, but also with the extent to which this particular group is liberal.

In this pilot study a number of propositions for further research became evident. (1) It would be interesting to give the social distance test to foreign students on arrival at a university in the United States and then again after the same students had been here two semesters, or better four semesters. It might be hypothesized that the influence of American college life lessens the social distance reactions of foreign students.

(2) It would be worth while to conduct both extensive and intensive interviews with these same students at the time that they take the second social distance test in order to learn what factors influenced each in an American college in changing his attitudes toward other racial and national groups. It might be hypothesized that friendly contacts with a few members of each of a number of races and nationalities were the chief explanatory factors.

(3) It would be important if a study such as that proposed in the foregoing (1) and (2) were conducted simultaneously in universities located in four different regions of the United States, such as New England, the South, the Middle West, and the Pacific West. By keeping all the factors as constant and similar as possible except that of region, it might be possible to determine how significant region is in determining changes in social distance on the part of foreign students. It might be hypothesized, for example, that American university experiences of foreign students are not affected by region.

TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANCE, GOVERNMENT, AND RELIGION

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In this relatively crowded world of today, in a technological era, in an age of swift transportation and communication, science and technology are pointing clearly toward "one world." Indeed, in a "civilized" community today individuals will "feel an interest in the well-being" of their fellow men, whether dwelling next door or faraway, whether black, brown, yellow, or white, whether Christian, Mohammedan, Jew, or Buddhist. The era of isolationism, extreme individualism, and localism appears to be passing into history. Technological change and increase in population require a revolution in ideas and interrelationships. A continuation of the recent stress upon force spells danger to the people of this complex world.

We cannot return to grandfather's way of doing things, and we cannot safely retain the point of view of a generation or two ago. This is an ultradynamic age in science and technology. To retain a static philosophy of government and of human interrelationships will inevitably cause disaster. The science and art of human relationship is lagging far behind technological progress. There is need of a higher standard of morality in today's complexity than in the simpler days of yesterday. Mankind must find a way of gaining general acceptance of basic moral principles or imperatives, or we may face a devastating procession of local struggles, or a disastrous Third World War.

Science has revealed clearly that the material universe is governed by certain immutable forces which are natural or God-given, such as gravitation, adhesion and cohesion, chemical reactions. The scientist and the engineer strive to ascertain the laws or forces governing inanimate objects, and then plan to work in accord with these laws or habits. The basic anatomical and physiological elements in humans are not very different. The fundamental wants and desires of all men are similar—food, clothing, sex, amusement, transportation, etc. All men have similar likes and dislikes. Among men, there are common physiological traits and common psychological traits. These are characteristics of human nature.

Since all mankind possess similar bodily structures, it is reasonable to assume that there are certain basic or universal rules for good physical well-being. Is it not also reasonable to assume that there is a common structure of the minds of men? There are also "precepts which are universal in the sense that they apply to all normal men."[1] Merely the fact that different peoples have different ideas as to morality or the good life does not mean that there are no universal moral ideas or laws which, if obeyed, make for human satisfaction, for the good life. Consequently, if success is to be achieved in the broad field of human relations, social scientists must work diligently and with open minds to ascertain and analyze the basic forces which should be utilized and directed in order to better the lot of mankind here on earth.

Two basic forces are essential to the continued existence on this planet of the human race. One is individualistic. It pressures each to save his own life, to compete with others, to strive for number one. This struggle for life is found throughout the vegetable and animal world. In the field of human relations, it becomes more than a struggle for life; it becomes a contest for power and for significance. Competition of some kind appears to be a universal phenomenon. The cultivated plant and the domesticated animal are the consequences of modifying, controlling, and directing competition. In the future, competition between individuals and between groups should be controlled and directed in the interest of human welfare. It should not be eliminated, as it rests upon a universal basic trait of human nature. "Thoughtful people today can no longer hope for salvation through economic warfare or anarchy"[2]; but competition—rivalry— in a modified (controlled) form will continue unless a static or a retrograde condition obtains.

The other basic force in human relations is altruistic. It involves a degree of self-sacrifice or of sympathy for others. Mother love and sacrifice for offspring is its highest and most significant expression. Without it, the race perishes. Humanitarianism and programs for community and world betterment are manifestations of this basic or God-given force found today in all civilized communities. These two basic principles in the "nature of man" are common to all normal humans. The stable or fundamental values in life rest upon these two forces or principles. Eternal foundations of justice will square with these two somewhat antagonistic forces.

[1] W. T. Stace, *Destiny of Western Man* (New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1942), p. 71.
[2] M. R. Cohen, *American Thought* (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1954), p. 113.

Between these two quite different, but basic, forces a constant conflict goes on. Two natures indeed struggle within each and every individual and within each and every group. In a technological age with dense and mobile populations, and in a dynamic society, the second force will gain in importance if peaceful conditions are to be attained and maintained. Human "rights" rest upon these two fundamental forces and in the long run must work in harmony with them. Rights will aid in bettering human life, in leading each individual to strive to make the most possible of the talents given him, and in developing a spirit of cooperation for community betterment. "Rights are certain advantageous conditions of social well-being, indispensable to the true development of the community."[3]

As the world moves from an agricultural or a pioneer age to a technological era, the exact content of many "natural" rights should be modified and made elastic. This is being accomplished, partially at least, in the United States by the device known as the police power of the state which grows out of the general welfare clause in the American Constitution.

As we are able to domesticate plants and animals, as we are able to change the course of rivers and reduce the danger from floods, as we are able to modify the temperature within buildings, it is logical to assume that we can also modify the direction of basic human impulses. It is clear to the objective observer that the deep-seated human impulses need redirection in the rapidly changing world of today as, for example, water which normally flows downhill may be made to flow uphill in pipes.

In these days of broad and intricate human relations, there is great need of studying human relationships and of uncovering the fundamental forces or laws which dominate or control men in their relations with other men. These "laws" appear to have much the same position in the baffling maze of human relations as the "laws" in the physical universe governing gravitation or electrical energy.

Primarily, in the field of human relations, we are dealing with creatures endowed with reasoning powers and with some degree of sympathy for other members of the human family. Men and women frequently have immediate personal interests which are not parallel to the broader interests of the community. Each group is prone to assert that certain of their demands or traditional ideas represent "basic human rights."

If humans are subject to moral laws in much the same manner as inanimate objects are subject to physical laws, a satisfactory—good,

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[3] John Maccunn, *Ethics of Citizenship* (Glasgow: Maclehose & Sons, 1894), p. 37.

healthy, or moral—physical condition for the individual depends upon observing the rules relative to the control of the appetites. Also, satisfactory—good, healthy, or moral—human relations between men and between nations depend upon ascertaining and following the laws or rules operating in this field, as affected by changing conditions. If science cannot solve all the problems of the universe, religion may be called upon to help in determining those forms which are God-given or natural.

If the moral climate of the modern world is to be changed quickly to conform with the technology and large populations of today, it will not be accomplished by using hit-and-miss methods; it will be the work of social scientists working with natural or God-given forces acting in the complex world of human relations and utilizing deep-seated human impulses.[4] It will be imperative that leaders emphasize and practice the basic moral principles common to all peoples and all ages, the so-called natural laws or God-given principles. This is much more important now than in the localized economy of this writer's youth.

Many of the cherished traditions of pioneer American democracy are outmoded and should be replaced as the result of scientific research, by programs suitable for the new and up-to-date democracy. However, democracy in the middle years of the twentieth century continues to demand citizens who are willing and able to take responsibility. Voluntary action by devoted and intelligent individuals and groups is extremely desirable in order to improve local conditions, but such action is difficult in a complex industrial and urban civilization. What is to be the effect of increasing leisure time as a consequence of more mechanization or automation? Will a reasonable portion of this additional leisure be used for education in regard to the problems of democracy? Will it be used for hobbies and do-it-yourself programs? Will it be used chiefly for sports or for idleness or for dissipation? In an advanced technological era, the future of democracy may depend in no small measure upon the answers finally given to these queries.

Security is proclaimed on occasion to be more important than freedom of thought and action coupled with responsibility. Security is one of the carrots dangled temptingly before underprivileged people by communists. In a totalitarian state freedom is lost, but a type of economic security may be obtained. Responsibility rests almost solely with the government, very little is left for the citizenry. The fundamental difference between democracy and freedom, on one hand, and totalitarianism and rigid centralized control of citizens depends upon the evaluation of the role of the individual.

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[4] *Speeding Up Human Evolution*, by the writer, *Sociology and Social Research*, 32: 600-05.

Democracy emphasizes the intrinsic value of each and every individual, but in this complicated age of mass movements the individual is in danger of being overwhelmed by the sheer force of numbers. The basic elements which stress the worth of the individual are in danger of being lost sight of in the midst of movements which stress conformity, uniformity, and security. In actuality, democracy and freedom are anchored to inequality—differences—and to individual initiative or the ability to think independently and to act fearlessly. Even in the United States, with a background of freedom, from time to time irrational, anti-democratic demagogues have arisen to menace the existence of the nation under the Constitution.[5]

Business leaders are beginning to recognize that there are potent forces acting in the realm of human affairs within both business and government. A well-known business analyst has recently pointed out that leaders in business management have an important role to play in continuing prosperity, high standards of living, and freedom in the United States. He urged that the same initiative and diligence be used in human relations as in production or selling.[6] In a modern democracy, cooperation between thinkers and political practitioners, between egg-heads and elected representatives is essential. In the business world, teamwork between scientists and management is now normal procedure. In the political field, expertness and planning are also essential to efficiency and to progress toward higher economic, political, and moral standards. In the words of Adlai Stevenson, both government and business should concern themselves with "the social implications of those ever more rapid technological advances."[7] According to Norman Thomas, a good life for men and women in the future will require "free men and free nations" using our technology for a "war against poverty, illiteracy, and preventable disease."[8] This spells planning and governmental action and, may we hope, much voluntary and nongovernmental activity.

Finally, if we are living in a "blind and reasonless world," this article and others in the series have no worth-while foundation. There is little hope of world betterment. If, however, man and the universe are moving toward some end not understood by mortals, we may hope through religion to set up goals and to glimpse natural laws which apply to human relations. In short, mankind may hope to move in the general

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[5] See Agnes M. Meyer, in *Bulletin* of American Association of University Professors, spring, 1955.

[6] Babson's *Letter*, September 5, 1955, Section 2, p. 7.

[7] *Fortune*, October 1955, p. 16.

[8] The New York Times *Magazine*, October 30, 1955, p. 42.

direction of better world conditions. A spiritual rebirth may be essential if world peace is to be gained and retained; it is also significant in the business field. "Man is searching for anchors outside himself."[9] To date, no world religion has achieved its "great social purpose" of producing world peace, brotherly love, and the development of man's inherent potentialities. It has been pointed out that, in fact, religious organizations have collapsed when face to face with a communist government.[10] Why? Is it because the Church has neglected to study carefully the proper methods of directing the two fundamental forces in human relations? A positive program based upon the fundamentals of human nature might eliminate war and achieve world peace.

Granting that there is a Plan for mankind and for the universe, it does not necessarily follow that morality or goodness is something directly imposed from without, or that God may on occasion directly intervene to modify human progress or the rate of social change. Tides, hurricanes, and earthquakes are phenomena of nature, and the believer need not hold that God causes them to occur when and as they do. No normal person expects God to intervene temporarily and locally in order to suspend the action of gravitation or to turn lead into gold or platinum. Morality or goodness follows from a proper functioning of various elements of human nature. This was the view of Plato. Just as physical health depends upon the proper functioning of various elements of the human body, so moral health depends upon the control and direction of the appetites by reason guided by knowledge.

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[9] *Harvard Business Review*, May-June 1955, p. 34, col. 1.
[10] J. B. Rhine, *New World of the Mind* (New York: Sloane Associates, 1953), Ch. 2.

AN INTERVIEWING PROBLEM
IN VALUES RESEARCH

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"Values are *modes of organizing conduct*—meaningful, affectively invested principles that guide human action."[1] According to Robin M. Williams, Jr., values possess the qualities of (among others) (1) being "important, not trivial or of slight concern" and (2) representing "actual or potential emotional mobilization."[2]

Values may be considered as posed along a continuum. At the furthest pole are moral values, violation of which provokes guilt and the anticipation of social censure on the part of the offender.

Such moral values are at the core of the individual's internalized conscience. They also define the central institutionalized structure of the society. . . .From the point on the value continuum at which the moral quality is emphasized, values shade off into those evoking less intense guilts and less severe social sanctions—for example, aesthetic standards, conventional proprieties and simple norms of expediency or technical efficiency. *Only careful research testing can establish the position of any "alleged" value along this continuum in the actual functioning of a society.*[3]

Empirically, the criterion of choice provides a means of defining values. The respondent, by choosing among alternative behaviors in a situation, renounces certain values in favor of others. In this way, the hierarchal position of values along the continuum can be established and the social scientist is able to discover the central institutionalized structure of the society under investigation.

The American Case. A methodological problem exists if the society under investigation is the American society. To pose the problem clearly, it is necessary to outline certain features of the paramount American value system and their implications.

Talcott Parsons suggests that the paramount American system of value orientations closely approached the pattern formulated in terms of the combination of achievement and universalism.[4] Achievement defines

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[1] Robin M. Williams, Jr., *American Society* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951), pp. 374-75.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 374.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 375-76. Italics ours.

[4] Talcott Parsons, *The Social System* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1951), p. 83.

an orientation emphasizing performances, as contrasted to an emphasis upon attributes (ascription). Universalism characterizes an orientation in terms of general cognitive standards, as contrasted to an orientation in terms of uniqueness (particularism).[5] The combination of achievement and universalism affords a pattern which defines a value orientation with a preference for the expectation of "active achievements in accord with universalized standards and generalized rules. . . ."[6]

Some of the implications which follow from such a pattern are worthy of note.[7] First, the emphasis in such a value system is on the *process* of achievement rather than on achieving in terms of realizing a valued goal-state. From this, there follows a "pluralism" with reference to ultimate goals.

Second, there is no collectivistic presumption. That is, the person expects (and is expected by others) to achieve. If his achievement necessitates participation in a collectivity, he does so and accepts the legitimacy of social controls involved in such participation. If not, he achieves alone. From this, there follows an "individualistic slant" in the value system: the individual is deemed responsible for his successes or failures. For another person to question an individual's actions, his "right to question" must be accepted by the individual; if a doubt exists concerning the propriety of the question, the burden of proof rests with the questioner.

Combining these implications, we may speak of an American value system which places its emphasis upon an individual instrumentally manipulating his environment. The implications of a "pluralism of goals" and an "individualistic slant" provide for a high degree of toleration of tentativeness and ambiguity in such a value system. In general, the individual reserves the right to decide in his own time, to decide without revealing his decision, or to remain undecided upon his choice of action. There are some normatively defined situations in which he recognizes the legitimate expectancy of his making immediate specific choices if requested. However, there is a general tendency to "let things ride" and an expectancy that this tentativeness and ambiguity will be tolerated by others.[8]

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[5] Achievement-ascription and universalism-particularism are pattern variables. That is, they are categories for the description and analysis of value orientations. The pattern variables are dichotomous, and a value orientation may be interpreted as posing a preference for one alternative over the other. See Talcott Parsons and Edward A. Shils (eds.), *Towards a General Theory of Action* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951), pp. 78-79, 82-83.

[6] Parsons, *The Social System, op. cit.*, p. 102.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 83.

[8] See Lawrence Podell, "American Value Orientations and the Predispositions of Personalities to Occupational Roles," unpublished doctoral dissertation, Cornell University, 1954.

The Problem of the Structured Interview Situation. In values research, the respondent is placed in the position of making value choices. The interview, if it is to accomplish its purpose, forces the respondent from his position of tentativeness and ambiguity to one of increasing specificity and immediacy of spoken choice. Furthermore, in making a series of choices (e.g., responding to a series of items), the respondent may feel himself pressured to a consistency of value commitment which is rarely called for in the American society. And before whom?—a stranger *requesting* his cooperation in answering.

The role of interviewer does not possess the legitimacy of that of physician or priest or judge in regard to immediate, specific, and consistent value commitment. Even under the guise of scientific social research the respondent cannot be expected to behave like the patient seeking "health" or the parishioner seeking "repentance" or the citizen seeking "justice." In short, the interviewer has no "right" to place the respondent in this exposed position.[9]

As discussed previously, values are at the core of the respondent's internalized conscience. Values are those principles which give organization and meaning to the respondent's life. By placing the respondent in the exposed position of making immediate, specific, and consistent value choices, when his usual state concerning values is characterized by tentativeness and ambiguity, the situation may be viewed by the respondent as threatening. And as values are affectively charged, representing "actual or potential emotional mobilization," emotive reactions may be expected as a consequence. In fact, if emotive reactions are not present, the effectiveness of the values research (in terms of depth along the continuum) may be questionable.

If the respondent feels threatened, the potential emotionality may be mobilized and actually directed against the source of threat—the interviewer, who lacks the legitimacy of provoking such commitments. In that case, emotive reactions, such as withdrawal, aggression, or guilt, may serve to cause a termination of the interview or a weakening of the validity of responses. Both effects are detrimental to research.

In values research, a dilemma is posed: the emotive reactions which are concomitants of obtaining the more vital commitments, and, hence,

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9 See Lawrence Podell, "The Structured Interview as a Social Relationship," to be published in a forthcoming issue of *Social Forces.* It may be possible to afford the interviewer this "right" by generalizing behavior from roles with greater legitimacy in this regard to cover the interview situation. For example, it is quite possible that the respondents replying to Dr. Kinsey and his associates generalized the role expectancies of doctors of medicine to doctors of philosophy. However, in this paper we have reference to structured survey researches, in which successfully utilizing this generalization does not appear practical.

are the result of the most effective researches, also serve to threaten the interview situation and the validity of data.

A Suggested Solution. There are several possible solutions to this apparent dilemma. (In this paper, we do not claim to exhaust the reaction possibilities, and, therefore, cannot exhaustively discuss the possible solutions.) One solution would be to eliminate "depth" research concerning values altogether. If researchers would continue to investigate only those values which provoke less intense emotional reactions, those concerning "aesthetic standards, conventional proprieties, and simple norms of expediency or technical efficiency," emotive reactions would occur less frequently and with lesser intensity. (Particularly in American society, wherein the trait of individualism enhances the obtaining of an interview and individual responses, much research may be conducted upon the more "surface" values.[10]) It is only when sociologists attempt greater depth that the other concomitants of the same trait of individualism, the tentativeness and ambiguity discussed earlier, increase in importance and may result in emotive reaction. However, abandonment of "depth" values researches deprives the science of a foremost method of defining the "central institutionalized structure" of the society.

Another solution would be to train the enumerator to utilize techniques of psychological manipulation in the interview situation, in an attempt to minimize the effects of emotive reactions.[11] These would be similar to the techniques used by the psychotherapist in the clinical situation, e.g., in resolving the problem of transference. However, in the usual survey researches, part-time or partially trained interviewers are employed. Intensive clinical training would be expensive, if possible at all. Furthermore, the variation introduced by personalized alterations of behavior threatens the comparability of survey data.

In solving the dilemma of values research, the problem of respondent reactions should not be compounded by introducing increasing variability in interviewer role play. An alternative solution which would not have this defect would be to utilize the research instrument itself to control respondent emotional reactions. Employing the schedule or questionnaire in this manner is not new in social research;[12] illustrative examples of attempts to alleviate reactions of withdrawal, aggression, or guilt by introducing items in the schedule with this as their manifest purpose follow.

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10 *Ibid.*
11 *Ibid.*
12 Herbert Hyman, "Interviewing as a Scientific Procedure," in H. Lerner and H. D. Laswell (eds.), *The Policy Sciences,* Stanford University Press, 1951, pp. 212-13.

H. David Kirk,[13] in a study concerning the adoptive family, employed a story summarized as follows: Mrs. X., after many years of childless marriage, adopted a boy. Soon afterwards, she became pregnant and bore a son. All three were swimming one day and suddenly both boys needed help. In his pretest, Kirk asked, "If she could save nothing else, which of them would you say she should save?"[14] He reports that respondents "froze up," laughed uneasily, or left the room—they withdrew (some literally) from the interview situation.

It was clear enough that people could not or would not make that kind of hypothetical choice, *at least not in a structured interview*. Once we introduced the modification of: "which of them would you say she should *try* to save *first?*" the answers came more readily. "Try" and "first" probably were the keys which *unlocked for the respondent the chance of answering at all*.[15]

Robert K. Merton[16] reports an attempt to alleviate aggressive reactions, which, it was felt, would be detrimental to further interviewing in a community.

After the last question on the schedule had been asked and answered, the interviewer ostentatiously put his schedule and pad to one side, pocketed his pencil and remarked in a casual fashion: "The interview is over now, and I'd like your frank opinion. How did you *really* feel about being interviewed all this time?" . . . . . The concluding question was intended to provide an outlet for pent-up feelings of antagonism in those instances where the interview may have provoked some measure of hostility; it provided an occasion for the "chimney-sweeping of aggression."

Although this technique was employed as a postinterview device with some success, Merton indicates the need for using it *during* the interview.

By frankly recognizing the possibility of aggressiveness. . .and by providing an outlet for it, the level of postinterview hostility was, in some cases, evidently reduced. For under the conventionalities and courtesies of the interview situation, informants will ordinarily not express accumulated hostilities, except through veiled aggressive statements, or, in extreme cases, through abrupt refusals to respond to questions. But when they see that the interviewer himself recognizes the possibility of these hostilities. . .(the) informants find a means of funneling off feelings of antagonism. This process of abreaction provides psychological gains for the informant and field-worker alike.[17]

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[13] H. David Kirk, "Community Sentiments in Relation to Child Adoption," unpublished doctoral dissertation, Cornell University, 1953.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. Appendix 11.

[15] *Ibid.*, italics ours. The implication of "try" and "first" is that the other child could be saved as well.

[16] Robert K. Merton, "Selected Problems of Field Work in the Planned Community," *American Sociological Review*, 12: 307.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 308.

Kirk included items which he called "guilt-release" questions in his schedule. These permitted the respondent to voice his agreement with some established value. For example,

Some people like children more than other people do. Would you say that you personally like children very much, fairly much, not so much, or not at all?[18]

The item allows the respondent to affirm his love of all children before he is asked invidious questions about adopted or illegitimate children. In other words, Kirk believed that commitments derogatory to adopted or illegitimate children, who are, first and foremost, children, provoked guilt among respondents in a child-centered society, unless the respondent had assented to his "love of all children" beforehand. Once accomplished, the respondent could feel a freedom from guilt when making his invidious responses.

Using Kirk's guilt-release technique may constrain the respondent to an unintended consistency of reply. But this is a matter for empirical investigation, along with such matters as position, wording, and the like. The suggestion of this paper is that emotion-alleviating items be included in the schedule and the testing of them be included as part of the pretest procedure of research. This suggested solution to the dilemma of values research in America may increase interview-time or decrease the number of fact-finding items that can be included in the schedule. But it may also enable the sociologist to operate with greater effectiveness at increasing depth along the value continuum, coming that much closer to the discovery of the central institutionalized structure.

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[18] Kirk, *op. cit.*, Appendix 9.

MENTAL PROCESSES AND DEMOCRACY

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Three essays written by the late Karl Mannheim while he was still living in Germany have recently been translated, edited, and published under the title of *Essays on the Sociology of Culture*.[1] A splendid piece of translating and editing has been done by Ernest Manheim "in co-operation with Paul Kecskemeti." The *Essays* have been judged worthy of the extended review which follows.

A major theme is called "the sociology of the mind," while a footnote states that "sociology of culture or of the mind are used interchangeably." The sociology of the mind refers to "meanings and symbolic acts." It "attempts to articulate the social character of mental processes" and to elaborate "the social dimensions of communicated meaning."[2]

The unconscious is as much one of these dimensions as is the conscious, and "the preconscious approach to certain objects is as much a phase of the socializing process as the concerted stipulation of the family budget."[3] Another important dimension, for instance, is the playing of roles, which sometimes produces a split personality, as in the case of the person who plays a role "in a hard-boiled economic struggle" and at the same time a role "in an affectionate family life."[4]

The "original seat of meaning" is found by Mannheim in "the co-operative situation," for "the identical manipulation of identical things opens up certain avenues of approach."[5] When a common approach develops, only a common symbol is required to give "an objective import." This symbol is not an abstraction but "the primary form in which each individual comes to attach meaning to the object."[6]

The key object of sociology is social action, wherein "social" is not an aspect of a group product but is the very framework of behavior which results in the social product. Sociology is the science of "sociation," whose structure comes "from the ways in which the performance of one depends on the performance of others."[7] The sociology of the

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1 New York: Oxford University Press, 1956, pp. ix+253.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 81.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 55.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 45
5 *Ibid.*, p. 66.
6 *Ibid.*
7 *Ibid.*, p. 81.

mind involves the mental processes which are operative in sociation. It
includes the social ontology of these mental processes and an analysis of
"the basic constants of sociation." It considers the kinds of social con-
tacts which explain traditions and other social continuities, and the
significance of "social groupings for the genesis of standpoints."

Since the behavior of the individual "cannot be adequately understood
apart from his social relations," Mannheim discusses class, conscious
class, and class position. He lays special stress on *positional behavior*. A
person's orientation in a given situation helps to explain his behavior and
even his motivations. His positional behavior is behavior that reveals his
reaction to his location. A very important form of positional behavior is
that "which is solely guided by the economic interests of an individual"
as they find expression in the market.[8]

A class in the economic sense is composed of persons who "act uni-
formly in accordance with their like interests and like position in the
productive process."[9] A conscious class is one whose members "act
collectively in accordance with a conscious evaluation of their class
position in relation to all other strata of society." Class position suggests
"a certain affinity of interests within a diversified society" that delegates
power, differential prerogatives, and economic opportunities selectively.[10]
In these explanations of class and position, the role of economic factors
may be overemphasized, important as they are.

In his discussion of the sociology of the mind, Mannheim gives con-
siderable attention to those superior minds known as the intelligentsia.
He considers them from a number of approaches: (1) their social back-
ground, which indicates some of the factors that explain their particular
predispositions "to meet and experience given situations."[11] (2) Their
affiliations in the different professions and vocations also disclose some of
the bases for their special molds of thinking. Their particular associa-
tions throw some light on the roles that they as "the educated strata of a
society play," and in some cases will throw light on "their prevalent style
of expression and the mentality" that they evolve. (3) An ascending
intelligentsia that move up singly into "an open and generally accessible
stratum tend to evolve an individualist and heroic philosophy," to be
activistic and optimistic.[12] Then there are those intellectuals who reject
social change. These may be members of an older generation whose posi-
tion does not permit a readjustment, or members "of declining voca-
tions," or recipients of an income whose situation "inhibits an under-

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[8] *Ibid.*, p. 107.
[9] *Ibid.*
[10] *Ibid.*
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 123.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 143.

standing of change." In general, a skeptical attitude of mind "emerges from the eclipse of a group-centered world view."[13]

Intellectuals are found in three habitats, each habitat involving an intellectual type. One type is found in the *local habitat* with its persuasive and durable culture and the continuing concerns and understandings of neighborhood people. Sometimes the local intellectuals may become "a center of regional culture of major proportions."[14] A second type of intellectual is represented by "the literate of *institutions*." They may be expressions, for example, of church organizations or of business interests, and even "stable and well-entrenched political parties create their own intelligentsia."[15] The third type is "the detached intellectual." His outlook is usually detached from any political party, religious denomination, or other organization. He is free to make up his mind in "a variety of ways" and capable of "vicarious participation in a great variety of social movements."[16] Although the behavior of intellectuals cannot necessarily be predicted, yet the thought that they express may be understood if their habitats be understood.

Democratic patterns of thought are on the gain in our age despite the frequent rise of dictatorships. Mannheim asserts that a democratizing trend in human thinking "is our predestined trend, not only in politics, but also in intellectual and cultural life as a whole."[17] Why is he so sure? Because the rise of dictatorships is made possible "by the greater fluidity introduced into political life by democracy." Moreover, the progressive mind is not necessarily the mind of a majority in a democracy. When political life is at first democratized, left-wing tendencies may be favored, but "it may happen that 'conservative' or 'reactionary' currents get the upper hand as a result of the free play of political forces."[18] Democracy does not necessarily "usher in the rule of Reason." "National self-assertion and aggressiveness" may be a characteristic of the majority. When a social group do not have the mental outlook required for political democracy, the sudden acquisition of such power may be followed by the giving up of individual autonomy to aggressive leaders, even to dictators. As a rule, a democracy is "not destroyed by nondemocratic enemies" but as "a result of the working of the innumerable self-neutralizing factors that develop within the democratic system."[19] A democratic mindedness by a majority is not guaranteed by a political democracy.

13 *Ibid.*, p. 148.
14 *Ibid.*, p. 155.
15 *Ibid.*, p. 157.
16 *Ibid.*, p. 159.
17 *Ibid.*, p. 171.
18 *Ibid.*, p. 173.
19 *Ibid.*, p. 174.

Intellectuals have only one concern in common, namely, "the continuing endeavor to take stock, to diagnose and prognosticate, to discover choices when they arise, and to understand and locate the various points of view rather than to reject or assimilate them."[20] For intellectuals to submerge themselves in the working-class movement, or "to become musketeers of free enterprise," means that they will lose more than they will gain. If they become partisans, let them not lose their mental mobility and independence which constitute their assets. Bureaucracies strive to create a likemindedness, but in order to survive they must encourage the critical judgment "which the controlled mind does not produce." Moreover, an intelligentsia must not surrender its self-awareness, but "must remain critical of itself as of all other groups."

What is the relation of the intellectual to democracy? First, the democratic principle of the equality of human beings does not imply a mechanical and a mental leveling. It implies an equality in human-ness, the autonomy of vital selfhood of each person irrespective of whether he belongs to the intellectually élite or not. Second, democracy is predicated on the creative, vitalizing performances of its members, of as many members as possible. Yet here is a danger to democracy, for if it gives free scope to the vital energies of all its members, it may fall apart through lack of conformity. Third, in a large democracy, a certain limitation may be put on its members through the selection of representatives. Thus, "the actual shaping of policy is in the hands of élites."[21] While a large number of capable persons are prevented from playing a direct role in national leadership, yet they have "at least the possibility of making their aspirations felt at certain intervals." Fourth, democracy does not mean that there are no élites, but "rather implies a certain principle of élite formation." It has "its own way of selecting and controlling its élites." It can act to remove one set of élites and elect another set, or it can force the one set to make "decisions in the interests of the many."[22]

Predemocratic societies and other authoritarian societies have "no use for discussion." The only ways to truth are not through the intellectual's critical judgment, but through such means as magic, formalistic ritual, intuition. Mental processes are not stimulated, arguments can come only from those in authority, and only dogmatic assertions based on mere intuition are admitted. On the other hand, the free intellectually élite will not hold "a dogmatic belief in advance," and the possibility of an

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[20] *Ibid.*, p. 170.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 179.
[22] *Ibid.*

intellectual being mistaken is always admitted. Free discussion is the intellectual's salvation from error. In free discussion, "all participants are equally and jointly responsible for the conclusion reached."[23] Thus, it would seem that free discussion tends to put a premium on mentality and to extend the range of the intellectually élite.

A problem of modern society is its tendency toward "massification" and of creating a mass society through the means of mass communication, which today are the press, the movies, the radio, and television. It is difficult for the free intellectually élite to compete with massification. Mannheim suggests as a first step in overcoming massification that numerous small communities be developed in which all members could help in arriving at responsible conclusions.[24] Thus, the cultivation of intellectually élites can be undertaken in a widespread way.

Democracy is not characterized by the absence of an élite but by "a new mode of élite selection and a new self-interpretation of the élite." In democratization the social distance between the élite and the rank-and-file decreases. In a democracy the élite have a mass background and hence have a personal meaning for the common people. If the élite forget or ignore the masses, then the latter in a democracy may choose a new élite.[25]

In a democracy the élite have an experimenting function. It is that of developing new social insights and of transmitting these "to intermediate groups and ultimately to the mass itself." In a democracy the élite are not to be leveled down to mediocrity, but the élite are to function in a leveling-up process, toward the level of the élite, when a new creative élite may be stimulated into being and action.

A society is democratic only "if élite recruitment is not limited to members of a closed group," that is, not limited to individuals who because of birth have special claim to being selected. The ranks of the élite in a democracy may be entered in one of two ways. (1) Individuals on sheer initiative and ability with no support from family heritage may reach the ranks of the élite. They do not owe their achievement to any special stratum of society. They are likely to believe "in the decisive role of the exceptional individual in human affairs," and they tend to develop "the philosophy of the self-made man."[26] (2) Other individuals may rise to the ranks of the élite through representing in superior ways one of the lower or middle strata of society, the cause of the common man. Sheer initiative and ability are used to express the needs of a social group

23 *Ibid.*, p. 194.
24 *Ibid.*, p. 196.
25 *Ibid.*, p. 200.
26 *Ibid.*, p. 203.

which in turn gives support to its leaders, who become a new élite. They do not "forget for a moment that their own rise in society has been indissolubly linked to their identification with a particular group interest and with the relative increase in that group's influence."[27]

Mannheim's sociology of the mind begins with a consideration of meanings and their accompanying symbols and reaches out to include the culture patterns which serve as symbols. It includes the élite, or leaders, who arouse the mind of the mass and give it new insights into the meanings of life involving its own democratic development.

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[27] *Ibid.*, p. 204.

PACIFIC SOCIOLOGICAL NOTES

Los Angeles City College. Robert Williamson is collaborating with S. Stanfield Sargent in revising Sargent's textbook, *Social Psychology.*

El Camino College. Mary Farrell has joined the sociology department this year.

Los Angeles State College. Karl Wallace has returned from a sabbatical leave which was spent traveling in Canada, Mexico, and the United States. During the sabbatical leave, Dr. Wallace prepared a monograph on mate selection. Joseph Ford has returned to the department after a year's leave of absence, during which time he conducted rural community research in Italy as a Fulbright Fellow. Paul Rowan, a doctoral candidate at UCLA, has joined the staff of the sociology department.

University of Arizona. Clyde Vedder has assumed chairmanship of the Department of Sociology.

University of California at Los Angeles. The following three persons have been added to the staff: Raymond J. Murphy, Ph.D., Northwestern; H. B. Nicholson, Ph.D., Harvard; Charles R. Wright, Ph.D., Columbia. Ruth Riemer has been granted a leave of absence for the academic year 1956-57. Eleanor B. Sheldon has been appointed a research associate.

University of Southern California. Martin H. Neumeyer has been re-elected President of the United Chapters of Alpha Kappa Delta. Edward C. McDonagh, who presently is in Sweden on a Smith-Mundt Fellowship, is giving a series of lectures on Public Opinion and Propaganda at the University of Lund. E. S. Bogardus is making a research study of racial distance reactions in different areas of the United States, using a stratified sampling technique involving 2,000 respondents for purposes of comparison with a similar study that he made in 1926 and again in 1946. Harvey J. Locke, Georges Sabagh, and Margaret Thomes presented a paper on "Interfaith Marriages" at the Detroit meeting of the American Sociological Society, and Robert A. Ellis presented a paper on "Social Class and Social Relationships" at the same meeting.

PEOPLES AND CULTURE

TOWN AND COUNTRY IN BRAZIL. By Marvin Harris. New York: Columbia University Press, 1956, pp. x+302.

"Town and country" is an expression widely used as a synonym for "rural" as contrasted with urban. As generally accepted, it includes population units of 5,000 or less. Anthropologist Harris finds this concept quite out of place in his study of a county in the interior of the state of Bahia, Brazil. The county seat, Minas Velhas, a former mining town, has only 1,500 inhabitants. It is fifty miles from the nearest railroad, has no bus communication, no automobiles, no telephones, no electricity, no movies, and no Coca Cola. Yet he found the town people there with a more intense urban ethos than those of New York City. Preferred residences are those with adjoining walls on the main streets, as close to the center of town as possible, and in the midst of bustle and movement. Farm work is abhorred as degrading. The town people have a total ignorance of the countryside beyond the town limits or the borders of a through highway. There is a sharpness of stratification into social classes, in which both race and wealth figure. In general, the town group has a high degree of heterogeneity.

The population of the county outside of Minas Vilhas is grouped in six villages ranging in population from 585 to 67. These are homogeneous groups with no class distinctions. They are all hoe-culture farmers or farm laborers and are definitely rural.

Through a year of residence and friendly contact with the people in this back country county, Dr. Harris and his three Brazilian associates were able to gain an intimate and colorful picture of the folkways, mores, and attitudes in this old and isolated area. His book is rich in factual content and highly entertaining. His most significant contribution is the demonstration of the principle of error in generalizing upon too limited evidence in fixing concepts.   JOHN B. GRIFFING
American International Association

PRIMERAS IDEAS SOBRE VICARIATO Y SOCIOPATOLOGIA. By Oscar U. Villegas. Mexico, D.F.: Imprenta Zavala, 1956, pp. 140.

Villegas presents the subject of sociopathology as it appears in various world cultures. He leans heavily on the concepts of *norteamericanos*, such as Sellin, Pauline V. Young, and especially Gillin. Although it is a well-organized outline of causation and treatment, no statistics are given.

THIS IS ISRAEL. Palestine: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow. By Theodore Huebener and Carl H. Voss. New York: Philosophical Library, 1956, pp. x+166.

In this account of Israel today, the authors begin with the migration of Abraham to Canaan and trace the historical events that have occurred in that important area of human relations to the present times. The factors involved in the rise of the Zionist movement and the emergence of the national state of Eretz Israel receive special attention.

Israel today is considered in terms of the collective settlements, the "creative labor movement" (Histadruth), the farms and factories. Israel's struggle for peace is discussed under such headings as cultural and religious integration, the Arab Minority, Israel Versus the Arab World, Concession to Be Made, and Israel's Great Opportunity. If Israel wants peace it is suggested that she absorb about 100,000 Arab refugees, provide compensation for the property seized, remove discriminations against her Arab minority, and consider internationalizing Jerusalem. If the Arabs want peace they must "recognize the state of Israel, immediately lift the boycott against Israel, and disband the refugee camps, absorbing the inmates in their own populations." By comparison, it would be interesting to have a committee of Arab scholars state what they think Israel and the Arabs must do if both want peace. The book is written in the spirit of "sympathetic understanding."

E.S.B.

CONFLICT AND HARMONY IN AN ADOLESCENT INTERRACIAL GROUP. By Irwin Katz. New York: New York University Press, 1955, pp. iii+47.

This monograph in the NYU's Research Series describes the author's methods of keeping a written record of group activities, of participation in group activities by individual members, and of the behavior of the adult leaders with an interracial group in a Metropolitan housing area in Lower New York during a ten-month period. The author employed the "informal method" of sampling social interactions by "starting at one side of the meeting room and then progressing to the other side, thereby recording all conversational groupings and repeating the procedure several times." Interviews with the adult leaders were held every week to obtain their comments on the meetings, "with particular reference to the behavior of individuals." Finally, individual interviews were held, where thirty-five "standard questions" were asked of all respondents, so that "their replies on key topics would be comparable."

HANS A. ILLING

AMERICANS BY CHOICE. By Angelo Pellegrini. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1956, pp. 240.

This is not a scientific treatise; however, social scientists, as well as the general public, will find it interesting and enlightening. The book consists of six chapters, each dealing with selected aspects of the life of an Italian immigrant. With the possible exception of one, Louis Martini, "Dean of Winegrowers," the persons whose stories are narrated are not famous. Two are women, one of whom is the author's mother, and the other, the mother of winegrowers. Of the remaining three, one is a former bootlegger, one a roving parasite, and the third, a ditchdigger. One of the essential values of the book, therefore, is that it gives insight into the lives of types of people about whom little has been written, except in novels. This work is not a novel; but the author, an associate professor of English literature at the University of Washington, is a literary artist, painting vivid pictures of his subjects. Though he does not approve of the behavior of all his characters, he deals with them understandingly and sympathetically. Indirectly but admittedly, in telling the stories of these immigrants, Professor Pellegrini reveals his own sentiments toward them; for he too is an immigrant, "one of them."

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LOUIS PETROFF
Southern Illinois University

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NETHERLANDERS IN AMERICA. Dutch Immigration to the United States, 1789-1950. By Henry S. Lucas. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1955, pp. xix + 744.

The author is well equipped by background and training to prepare this historical work, which is full of facts of sociological import. He documents well this account of the movement of nearly a third of a million of people for economic and religious reasons from a small, circumscribed home area to the far-flung prairies and forests of America. The economic opportunities, coupled with the religious freedom to be found in the New World, explain why men and women were willing to give up the security of a home community for the risks and uncertainties of an undeveloped wilderness.

These Netherlanders had difficulty in communicating with their American neighbors because they found the English language difficult. They brought a rich culture, a bent for hard work, deep religious convictions, and naturally settled in compact communities or colonies. These well-ordered communities enabled the people to maintain their Dutch way of life in many of its important aspects for three generations.

But the impact of American stimuli from all sides, as these communities became surrounded with rapid-developing American cities and towns, gradually had its effect. As a result, any distinctly Dutch patterns of life will disappear, according to the author, in another generation. Thus, the assimilation process will have completed a cycle, and the culture of the immigrant will have become integrated with the culture of the native, modifying both appreciably.   E.S.B.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND WELFARE

DELINQUENCY. The Juvenile Offender in America Today. By Herbert A. Block and Frank T. Flynn. New York: Random House, Inc., 1956, pp. xvii+612.

The authors correctly maintain that there is "no royal road to the understanding of the problem of delinquency, its causes and its treatment." The publishing concern states that "here, for the first time, is a complete and authoritative picture of juvenile delinquency as it now exists. All the elements of the problem of delinquency have been organized systematically in this book in a highly readable manner." This raises the question, How complete is this analysis of the problem of delinquency?

The book is divided into four parts: The Meaning and Scope of Delinquency, Pressures Toward Delinquency, Treatment Agencies, and Prevention. The material on the nature of delinquency and on who the delinquents are is fairly well presented. Even though considerable progress has been made in defining delinquency, we are still somewhat in a "legalistic wilderness" in the United States. However, the authors point out that, in its generic meaning, delinquency includes certain types of youthful deviants as contrasted with the normal behavior of youth. The statistics of the extent of delinquency are briefly presented.

The most difficult phase of the study of delinquency is the analysis of the causes, the "pressures toward delinquency," as the authors phrase the subject. The authors recognize the complexity and the difficulties in this field, but they feel that this should not dissuade us from pursuing the analysis of causal patterns. However, their own analysis is far from satisfactory. The particularistic error, the multiple factors hypotheses, and the search for primary factors are described and critically analyzed; but no clearly stated theoretical frame of reference is given. The three psychological types of delinquency and their social correlates, as indicated by Albert J. Reiss, Jr., are used as a basis of summarizing the

fairly well defined social environmental patterns. Detail discussions of personality studies are included, especially the physical constitution of delinquents, bodily related factors, and emotional pressures. Only one chapter is devoted to the multifarious pressures of the environment. The objective of this emphasis is to describe the possible motivations of delinquents and the relationship of these factors to the family and social backgrounds of the delinquents.

Nearly one half of the book is devoted to treatment agencies, especially the police, juvenile detention agencies, the juvenile court (which is described in detail), training schools, and various specialized treatment organizations and systems. The final chapter is devoted to the responsibility of society in preventing delinquent behavior. Two cases are presented in the appendixes, one of which includes a description of parole supervision. Each chapter contains a selected annotated bibliography, and a more extended bibliography is added at the end of the book.

M.H.N.

PORTRAIT OF AN AMERICAN LABOR LEADER: WILLIAM L. HUTCHESON. By Maxwell C. Raddock. New York: American Institute of Social Science, Inc., 1956, pp. xviii+430.

This is the second book to appear this year about labor leader Hutcheson and his Carpenters' Union, the first being Christie's *Empire in Wood*. In this we have an intimate portrait drawn on a grand scale by an author who knew him well both in private and in public life. Hutcheson endeared himself to thousands within the labor movement at large and to his associates in the Carpenters and Joiners of America. The account is also a saga of that union in the form of a case study. The union is viewed as an independent economic organization serving under Hutcheson as a bulwark against the rising tide of the economic power of the state. Says author Raddock, it was Hutcheson who "saw this basic struggle more clearly than some of the labor leadership today —that keep demanding more governmental intervention without telling us how, at the same time, to avert resultant totalitarianism."

William Levi Hutcheson (1874-1953) was the grandson of an immigrant widow who had been brought to America from the British Isles by her uncle. She had two children with her, one of whom, David, later became Hutcheson's father. In the industrial Michigan of that early day, William was born and bred. Samuel Gompers visited the area in 1888 and made a deep impression upon him. During his early years in the lumber industries, labor troubles were numerous. So he went west

to Idaho and its mines only to find that the miners were on strike. Returning to Michigan's Dow Chemical Company at Midland, he began to organize its workers and soon was fired. In 1906 he was found in Saginaw and took a job as business agent for two competing locals of Carpenters' unions. In 1915 he became president of the national union and thereafter served as its fighting spokesman for the next thirty-six years. A dramatic career it was during all those years, and Hutcheson might be said to have played a prominent part in every scene in which labor was concerned. Essentially, this book is then a kind of history of labor in the United States, a history which highlights the third largest union in the country.

THE FIELDS OF GROUP PSYCHOTHERAPY. Edited By S. R. Slavson. New York: International Universities Press, 1956, pp. xiii+338.

A successor to the earlier *The Practice of Group Therapy* (1947), the present anthology includes the fields of the social sciences as equal peers in the realm of healing the mentally ill. Some of the fields and authors are: Delinquency (Irving Shulman), Child Guidance (Leslie Rosenthal), Family Services (Saul Scheidlinger and Henry Freeman), Marriage Problems (Lena Levine), Industry (Marvin Klemes), and Research (Benjamin Kotkov). Slavson, often considered the "father" of group therapy in this country, started as a group worker and, as such, was, historically, the first individual to amalgamate social sciences and mental health on a "100 per cent" psychoanalytic basis.

HANS A. ILLING

STATISTICS OF FARMER COOPERATIVES, 1953-54. By Anne L. Gessner. Washington, D.C.: Farmer Cooperative Service, U.S. Dept. of Agriculture, 1956, pp. 72.

This survey states that the total membership in marketing, farm supply, and related service cooperatives in 1952-53 in the United States was 7.6 million as compared with 3.4 million in 1940-41. These figures include farmers who are members, for example, of both marketing and farm supply cooperatives. In 1952-53 there were 6,445 marketing cooperatives, 3,372 farm supply cooperatives, and 241 related cooperatives—a total of 10,058. A tendency toward consolidation is noted in both marketing and farm supply cooperatives. Of the former, dairy products continued in the lead, while grain and livestock followed in order. Of the latter, feed retained first place, and petroleum and fertilizer followed in second and third places, respectively.   E.S.B.

CHILD DEVELOPMENT. Third Edition. By Elizabeth B. Hurblock. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1956, pp. xvi+703.

This book is a comprehensive discussion of the physical, mental, social, and moral development of child life. It fortifies its descriptions with the results of the extensive research that has been made into all phases of child life. In her discussion of the physical development of the child, the author relieves the reader of the fear that a change from left-handedness to right-handedness necessarily has disquieting results.

To the sociologist the book offers an extended study of the social development of the child and resulting human relationships. The widening contact of a child with the world passes through family, friends, play groups, school, church, social clubs, and other community relations. Finally, beyond these are the radio, movies, television, and other cultural patterns, which are permanent factors in determining a child's behavior. To pass from one social class to another, the child must accept the ideas, beliefs, values, and behavior patterns of the class to which he aspires. Social insight, snobbishness, and discrimination are examined and the role of gang influence cautiously described.

Morality is conformity to the accepted moral code of the social group and is a type of behavior which must be learned. The child must be taught the standards of right and wrong regardless of traditional views on the subject.

Personality is not the sum of traits only but the traits organized and integrated into a pattern. Direct instruction in the development of desired traits has been found to be effective in bringing about personality changes, says the author. Suitable figures and photographs illuminate the book and add to its attractiveness and value.   G.B.M.

INDUSTRIAL RECREATION: A Guide to Its Organization and Administration. By Jackson M. Anderson. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1955, pp. xii+304.

Even though there has been a growing recognition of the importance of recreation in the life of industrial workers, few books have appeared to describe the scope of industrial recreation. The author provides in a single package the important considerations of employee recreation. It is designed as a practical guide for leaders in the field and for industrial or business concerns that plan an expanded program of recreation; but it is likewise an objective survey of the development, principles, policies, and programs of industrial recreation, particularly as it has developed in the United States.

Industrial recreation is defined as those recreation activities which are designed to satisfy the particular leisure needs and desires of employees of industrial and business firms. The benefits of these activities are indicated, the growth of industrial recreation in the United States is described, and important principles and policies are presented. The remainder of the book deals with the planning and initiating of the program, a description of the various types of program activities, and the administration of industrial recreation. Administration involves problems of leadership, organization of employees' associations, financing recreation programs, facilities and equipment, intercompany recreation associations, evaluating results, and various other details. Model constitutions for employees' and intercompany associations, the "Purdue Industrial Recreation Interest Study," and a brief description of organizations providing recreation services are appended.

This book presents a comprehensive coverage of this rapidly developing phase of recreation and provides authentic information on all phases of the subject.   M.H.N.

BIG BUSINESS LEADERS IN AMERICA. By W. Lloyd Warner and James Abegglen. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1955, pp. 243.

The "inside story of success" is here portrayed as a result of a research design which resulted in the investigation of the careers of over eight thousand representative business leaders and their wives. Both the questionnaire and the depth interview methods were utilized in the study, with the exact sampling being withheld from the reader. What kind of men were the leaders, how did they climb to the top, why did they succeed, and what has been their impact upon American life?—these were questions the authors wanted answered. Studied were the ancestry, the educational levels, the psychological motives, the marriages, regional origins, and both occupational and social mobility.

The study indicates that America is still the land of opportunity for those equipped with the right assets, something shown previously in their book *Occupational Mobility; 1928-1952*. It may be well also to compare this study with that of Professor Chinoy in his *Automobile Workers and the American Dream*, which disclosed that the automotive worker found scant basis for believing that even a high level of ambition would bring him to the top. Do those already at the top dream more realistically and ruthlessly?

The authors find that the "present-day leadership includes more men from the lower level occupations." Sons of laborers, white-collar

workers, and farmers are underrepresented among present-day business leaders, only a third of the top positions being entrusted to them; this, however, was the case somewhat more than a generation ago. Increased mobility has taken place not only in the lifetimes of present-day business leaders but in the careers of their fathers as well," declare the authors, while at the same time stating that the dream "is far from reality both yesterday and today." The psychological testing shows that these success-ful mobile men think first of themselves and their own careers, owe no debts to anyone or anything, and are seemingly unaware of any suffering caused by their aggressive journey to the top.   M.J.V.

THE FEDERAL CREDIT UNION. Policy and Practice. by John T. Croteau. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1956, pp. viii+210.

In the United States some credit unions are organized under a charter granted by the Federal Government, while a still larger num-ber are state-chartered. The former are the subject of this report and were first formed in 1935. At the beginning of 1955 the federal credit unions had reached the number of 7,227 and "their 3½ million mem-bers held aggregate assets in excess of one billion dollars."

A credit union is "an institution of personal finance," operating under either federal or a state charter, "owned and managed by its members for their mutual benefit," without private profit. A federal credit union is "a venture of the Federal Government in the area of voluntary action." A federal credit union charter is granted only "to groups with definite bonds of association, occupation, or residence." It is remarkable that federal credit unions have amassed "a billion dollars in one generation without the incentive of the profit motive."

The treatise presents many statistics and discusses many problems relating to the operation of federal credit unions that will also be of interest to the even larger number of somewhat similar state-chartered credit unions. It is a valuable reference book in its field.   E.S.B.

FAMILY LIFE SOURCEBOOK. By Oliver E. Byrd. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1956, pp. xiii+371.

Family life education is interpreted broadly to include (according to the chapter headings) courtship, marriage, pregnancy, childbirth, in-fancy, childhood, normal adolescence, older members of the family, the family as a unit, family health, and broken homes. There are also chapters on juvenile delinquency and community relationships. About 4,000 articles in professional journals were read by the editor, from which 400 were selected, all published over the approximate period of

1945-55. These were taken from 142 different periodicals and reports. Many of the excerpts are brief condensations of the articles, intended to give the main findings pertaining to the subjects under consideration. The chapter introductions, followed by brief summaries of about thirty articles or reports per chapter, give a fairly comprehensive view of family life education. The fact that the *Sourcebook* is meant primarily for educators, students, and the general public, rather than for research specialists, explains in part the types of articles selected for summarization. Furthermore, the editor was trained in the field of education and medicine and is a teacher of health education and hygiene, which may account in part for the emphasis on the physical, psychological, and educational aspects of the subject. However, sociological material is used in some of the chapters. The *American Journal of Sociology, Journal of the American Medical Association, American Journal of Psychiatry, American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, Marriage and Family Living,* and the *Journal of Social Hygiene* are the leading periodicals from which selections were made.

Through the articles which are summarized and the editor's chapter introductions, the development of the family and its members is traced from birth to old age, giving pertinent data concerning the health and mores of the American family. Teachers, students, and parents will find this book valuable as a source of recent information on the family.

M.H.N.

SOCIAL THEORY AND RESEARCH

SOCIOLOGY. An Analysis of Life in Modern Society. Second Edition. By Arnold W. Green. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1956, pp. xiv+576.

In this revised edition, the author has added new study aids, chiefly in the form of questions. Titles and descriptions of six motion pictures with sound track have been produced as teaching aids (see page vii). The author estimates that about 40 per cent of the contents have been rewritten. A new chapter on Recreation in America appears, and an old chapter has been divided into two entitled "The American Economic Order" and "The American Political Order." The four main parts of the book are entitled "Man and His World," "Numbers, Distribution, and Organization of People," "Social Institutions," and "Social Change."

FRANKFURTER BEITRAEGE ZUR SOZIOLOGIE. Edited by Theodor
  W. Adorno and Walter Dirks. Volume 1: SOCIOLOGICA. Papers dedi-
  cated to Max Horkheimer's 60th Birthday. Frankfurt-Main, Germany:
  Europaeische Verlagsanstalt, 1955, pp. 470.

The re-established Institute for Social Research published its first
three volumes in 1955, aiming to inform the reader of sociological re-
searches and theories. The first volume is rather varied in its content,
presenting many subjects to many readers, subjects which modern
sociology encompasses both in Germany and abroad. Its unity of con-
tent lies merely in the fact that all researchers and their contributions
are in agreement with Horkheimer's teachings and theories. Aside from
the editors' own contributions (such as the relationship between soci-
ology and psychology or the consequences of denazification in small
communities), the reader will find of absorbing interest Bruno Bettel-
heim's "Individual Autonomy and Mass Control" as well as Hadley
Cantril's "Concerning the Nature of Inquiry" (both in English),
Comte's "A Revaluation" (in French), Heinrich Meng's *Sigmund
Freud und die Soziologie*, Friedrich Pollock's "Automation in USA,"
and Leopold von Wiese's *Inhalt und Grenzen ethischer Forderungen in
der Gegenwart*.   HANS A. ILLING

SOCIAL RELATIONS AND MORALE IN SMALL GROUPS. By Eric F.
  Gardner and George G. Thompson. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts,
  Inc., 1956, pp. ix+312.

Small group studies are flourishing these days. The authors of this
book claim to have developed a "series of social-relations instruments
which are firmly grounded in the psychology of human needs and which
reflect the many advantages of modern psychometrics." How may one
improve human relations? Appraise the dimensions of group morale
and effectiveness and discover why these exist. Through the establish-
ment of reliable social-relations scales, based upon studies of nine social
fraternities at Syracuse University, the authors set about measuring
group morale and effectiveness. A presentation of the *modus operandi*
in securing the new measuring scales used in the experiment is preceded
by demonstrating some of the deficiencies in the conventional sociometric
approach. Standards of efficiency for the scales were tested and found
satisfactory. What they purport to measure is ascertained by securing
"each individual's estimate of the other group members' potentialities
for satisfying several of his psychological needs; e.g., affiliation, play-
mirth, succorance, achievement, recognition, etc." A major hypothesis
upheld by the findings indicates that fraternities whose "members can

expect and do receive satisfactions for their most important psychological needs through interacting with their brothers will exert more energy and be more effective in pursuing the various goals of the group." This is not too world-shaking a finding. The new rating scale, however, may be highly useful in continued usage. Much of the data gathered will depend for its reliability upon the perceptive abilities of the respondents and their ability to cope with the definition of the situation.

M.J.V.

MAN IN SOCIETY. Volume II. By Verne S. Sweedlum and Golda M. Crawford. New York: American Book Company, 1956, pp. 651.

This book is the outgrowth of combined efforts of the members of the Social Science Department at Kansas State College to develop an integrated course for this division of the curriculum. This volume is devoted to an analysis of the major controls in society, social policy, and the world society. Most of the "controls" appear to emphasize political and legal regulations. Under social policy the topics of social reform, health and recreation, and public finance are examined with considerable objectivity. A mature discussion of world problems gives the student a good orientation, which ought to make more meaningful some of the significant problems of the twentieth century. The book has adequate coverage of topics; however, it does not advance any important "integrating concepts" that may be considered as contributions to this area of human behavior. Almost every book in this area integrates knowledge that few persons have attempted to "integrate" at the conceptual level.

E.C.M.

THE SOCIAL DYNAMICS OF GEORGE H. MEAD. By Maurice Natanson. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1956, pp. vii+102.

In a well-condensed way, the author, first of all, reviews the major concepts in the thought of George H. Mead, while at the same time tracing their development. In the second half of the book a "critical examination of major themes" in Mead's thought is made. In this criticism, the question is raised, "Is there a generalized *other* or are there really generalized *others*?" It is contended that Mead does not give "a systematic answer" to the question, What is the act? which he discusses at length. There are "at least two quite different concepts of act in Mead." Moreover, it is argued that Mead's theory of the act "lacks any organizational or unifying principle." While the reader may not agree with these criticisms, he may admit that they will stir up important discussion.

E.S.B.

ESSOR ET PROBLEMES D'UNE REGION FRANCAISE. By Emile Rideau. Paris: Les Editions Ouvrieres, 1956, pp. 247.

Mr. Rideau has written what might be labeled human or, more specifically, economic geography, as he gives considerable technical information on the coal and iron mines of the Moselle valley in northeastern France. Yet there are sociological overtones in his discussion of social problems of the region. The basic question of the Moselle is rapid expansion after the war, without overhauling management of the mines or of the role of workers. The Moselle reflects what he considers the basic tragedy of France: religious decline, lack of decisive leadership, and economic nationalism. More specifically, he depicts discontent of workers due to job conditions, insufficient pay, failure to find any sense of belongingness, and conflicts as, for example, between miner and engineer in the industrial hierarchy.

Perhaps the book is most valuable for the description of some aspects of the worker's life: housing, apprentice system, unionism, and antagonisms based on different subcultures among the workers. Not least interesting is the discussion of the Algerian, whose insecure status is largely due to his rejection by the average Frenchman.

To the sociologist, the study would have been more valuable if the same statistical data so rigorously compiled on production and other phases of the industrial enterprise had been formulated on the social relationships of the inhabitants of the area. However, that was not the author's purpose. Its value lies in portraying the problems of a specific French region. It may be a welcome prelude to further community studies in that country.   ROBERT C. WILLIAMSON
Los Angeles City College

SOCIOMETRY AND THE SCIENCE OF MAN. Edited by J. L. Moreno. New York: Beacon House, 1956, pp. 474.

This book appears at the culmination of twenty years of publication of the journal of *Sociometry* and on the occasion of its transfer to the American Sociological Society. Its contents offer the reader two types of material. One type includes a large number of reports of research projects involving sociometric methods. They reveal the extent to which these methods have been applied and illustrate the editor's basic philosophy of spontaneity and creativity.

The other type of material contains analyses of sociometric ideas and the development of sociometric theory. Since sociometry is still in its spontaneous and creative stages, not too much can be expected as

yet in the way of a sociometric system of thought. In fact, such a system would delimit and hinder the very spontaneity to which sociometry owes its growth and expansion. However, the various research studies in sociometry seem to call for a definition of adequate frames of reference and hence for the development of the theoretical aspects of the field.

POLITICAL THOUGHT. By C. L. Wayper. New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1954, pp. xii+260.

Political thought is so dynamic, and yet so confusing, that interpretative surveys should be made from time to time, and this one by Wayper presents conceptions of the state as demonstrated in contemporary ideologies in conflict. For the beginnings of political thought, attention is given to the Greeks, especially Plato and Aristotle, and their organic view of the state. Next, the state is considered as a machine, Hobbes and Locke and the utilitarian views of Bentham and Mill being cited. For the state as organism, the views of Rousseau, Hegel, and Green are brought into the picture. For the state as class, the construction depends upon the claims of Marx, Lenin, and Stalin. The organic and mechanistic views of the state are thus compared and evaluated. Some previous knowledge of political theory and representative schools in that field would appear to be a prerequisite for the reader.   J.E.N.

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS AND THE SOCIAL ORDER. Revised Edition. By Wilbert E. Moore. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1955, pp. xiii+660.

A second printing since 1951 attests to the popularity and worth of this excellent book on industrial relations. It also pays tribute to the qualities of Dr. Moore's fundamental grasp of the meaning of the social situations in which industrial relations take place. The social organization of industry and the relations of industry to society, focal points of the first edition, have been retained but augmented by changes in the light of the many new research findings. New studies, as the author states in his preface, have somewhat altered his views "concerning the appropriate focus of sociological analysis." This latter is brought to bear in the discussions on union organization and management-union relations as well as those concerning motivational problems in the industrialization process. Moore's last chapter on the stability of the industrial system is devoted to a theoretical view of the impact of industrialization on the world at large, and particularly of the tendencies of emotional nationalism to envelop the phenomena connected with that process.

M.J.V.

TULLY KNOLES OF PACIFIC. By Reginald R. Stuart and Grace D. Stuart. Stockton, California: The College of the Pacific, 1956, pp. 145.

An interesting method used in the preparation of this splendid biography was the use of a tape recorder when talking with the subject about a wide range of aspects of his life, his family, his work, and its meaning to him. The biographers have organized and compiled a large number of pertinent quotations from the recorded report, supplemented by many observations of their own and of others regarding their subject. The result is a kind of combined biography and autobiography.

President Knoles specialized, for instance, on public speaking without the use of notes or manuscript. His informal speaking manner, coupled with a ready wit and a willingness to address audiences interested in many different themes, always in a constructive and incisive way, has brought him wide popularity. His life represents an unusual balance of interests reflected in the major social institutions of the family, school, church, service club, fraternal order, and civic community. His administrative ability is seen in his lasting work for 27 years as president of the College of the Pacific, where he chose the faculty members carefully and then gave them freedom to develop their teaching abilities. His fields of leadership are well summarized in the dedication by the authors to "a great teacher, an understanding counselor, a convincing speaker, and a most human individual."   E.S.B.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION. Theory and Principles. By Murray G. Ross. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1955, pp. xv+239.

"Community organization" as used in this work denotes the process of bringing about and maintaining an effective adjustment between resources and socially defined needs within a geographic area or functional field. It implies the integration of community members to enable consensus about problems, needs, goals, and plans.

Professor Ross has set down a summary of anthropological, sociological, and psychological studies, together with field data, which relate to the community organization process. From these he has abstracted a theory of community organization. This theory is particularly designed as a basis for social action, especially in the field of social welfare. The last chapters comprise a guidebook for leaders and agencies in the field.

It is the conclusion of the author that, in the long run, the community organization process is most successful when the members of a community achieve the capacity to identify their own needs and to execute their own plans. The advocated role of the professional worker is one of

guide, enabler, expert, and therapist. It is held to be the agency's function, not to provide solutions to community problems nor to impose its values on the population, but to make its store of methods, techniques, comparative data, and evaluative procedures available to the community. The author's theory is translated into explicit instructions for application to the agency's activities. While the book is primarily designed as a handbook for organizing community programs, it may also suggest many research hypotheses to be investigated by social scientists. Ross has added impetus to the movement toward the development of an applied science of community organization based on pure research, theory, and the findings of field practice.   THOMAS ELY LASSWELL
Grinnell College

PHYSIQUE AND DELINQUENCY. By Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1956, pp. xvi+339.

This latest publication of the Gluecks' draws further upon the raw material provided by their comparative study of 500 delinquents and 500 nondelinquents reported in *Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency* (1950) and *Delinquents in the Making* (1952). In *Physique and Delinquency* they attempt to correlate their psychiatric analysis with data on physique types. They claim to have found a significant relationship between physique and behavior. Different body types respond differently to the forces of environment. They are more objective in their analysis than was true of the studies of Ernest A. Hooten, to whom the book is dedicated, or the more recent studies of William H. Sheldon.

For the purpose of analysis, four comprehensive classes of component dominance—endomorphic, mesomorphic, ectomorphic, and balanced (no component dominance)—which are called somatotypes, are used. The main assumption of somatotypes is that the constituent elements are rooted essentially in the individual's constitution.

The basic hypothesis of the study is that, "if body structure is relevant to delinquency, then (a) at least some traits should be found to vary significantly in their association with delinquency of the body types, reflecting a greater influence on the delinquency of some types than on others, and (b) the effect on delinquency of some sociocultural factors should be found to vary among the physique types" (p. 25).

It is not possible in this review to describe the research design and method of analyzing the data or to give the details of the conclusions. A total of twenty tables, with more detailed statistical summaries in

the appendixes, give the main data. Of the sixty-seven traits encompassed by the inquiry, only twenty were found to vary in their relationship to delinquency of the body types, five being classed as physical and neurological, seven as involving mainly aspects of intelligence and character structure, and the others as possessing various personality and temperament components. These physical, characterial, and personality traits appeared to have exerted a specially selective influence on the delinquency of one or another of the physique types. Next, the influence of factors in the family and the home on the delinquency of the boys of each physique type was analyzed. Fifteen factors of the home environment were found to have exerted a varied influence on the delinquency of the body types.

In the conclusions, the authors state that there is no unit cause of delinquency and that they did not find a delinquent personality, either among the majority of the delinquents—the mesomorphs—or in the other body types. In *Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency* it was pointed out that certain influences distinguished delinquents from nondelinquents, but in the present study these factors are seen to be constituents of varying syndromes stemming from differences in traits that have a selective impact on the delinquency of the physique types.

The complex problem of delinquency may be studied from many angles. To single out certain factors to the exclusion of others gives only a partial view. The physique of an individual has a bearing on his behavior, but it is necessary to take into consideration the different types of variables and their functional interaction in order to ascertain a more accurate appraisal of causation.   M.H.N.

SUICIDE IN LONDON: AN ECOLOGICAL STUDY. By Peter Saintsbury.   London: The Institute of Psychiatry, 1955, pp. 115.

Stimulated by the Durkheim thesis that external and constraining facets of the social environment determine the rate of suicide in a community, this author, a psychiatrist by profession, has undertaken a careful ecological analysis to ascertain if differential suicide rates in London "boroughs" (i.e., census tracts) were attributable to the social characteristics that prevail in those boroughs. His findings indicate that ecological zones characterized by social isolation, social mobility, and social disorganization contributed significantly to the incidence of suicide in London, while such other factors as poverty, unemployment, overcrowding, and the composition of the population by age, sex, and marital status did not affect the distribution of suicide in this community. Transcending the more narrow sociologistic thesis of Durkheim,

the author finds that personality factors which are not attributable to the impact of the social environment also must be considered in explaining at least one fourth of the suicides in London. Like all ecological studies, this one elicits some doubt concerning the validity of generalizing from ecological correlations to the etiology of individual behavior.

Basic Books has been appointed the American distributor for this monograph.   R.A.E.

WORK AND AUTHORITY IN INDUSTRY. By Reinhard Bendix. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1956, pp. xxv+466.

Subtitled "Ideologies of Management in the Course of Industrialization," this book is well conceived in the sense that out of an analysis of the historical sources of industrialization processes, it attempts to underscore the development of what the author chooses to call a managerial ideology. This ideology seeks "to justify the subordination of large masses of men to the discipline of factory work and to the authority of employers." Four sources have been scrutinized for this probing— England's Industrial Revolutionary period, Tsaristic Russian industrialization, modern American industrial enterprise, and East Germany's industrialization under Soviet domination. Bendix looks at all of these for the nature of the "haves" and "have-nots" to discover the ideas and interests of the former who have managed the latter in their role as subordinates.

In the early stages of industrialization the "haves" are called the entrepreneurs; in later stages they have become the managers. A schematic presentation shows the entrepreneurs and managers forming an autonomous class in eighteenth century England and in the twentieth century United States, while in early Russia and East Germany, they are subordinate to governmental controls. Discussing the differences in the managerial climate between early and modern stages, it is claimed that (1) industrialization and its way of life have now become accepted but that it is still essential to justify the ways of the managers; (2) new ends must now be served with the creation of internal bureaucratization and its emphasis upon organization and labor management. Much of this has been said before, but here it is viewed with the author's own manufactured lenses, colored considerably by the works of Marx, Mannheim, Max Weber, Simmel, and others. Interestingly offered is the contrast between the Anglo-Saxon and Russian ideologies which have directly affected the processes of industrialization in their several spheres of action.   M.J.V.

BUREAUCRACY IN MODERN SOCIETY. By Peter M. Blau. New
   York: Random House, 1956, pp. 127.

The author has integrated the relevant empirical data and extant
theory into a more understandable form than is usually found in many
such studies. Actually, this textbook is the first systematic sociological
study on bureaucracy as such. The qualities that stand out in the text
are the precision of its theory, the skillful use of empirical data, sim-
plicity of exposition (not often found even in introductory texts), and
lack of unnecessary, untested, and unrelated social jargon.

The trend toward bureaucracy in industry, labor, government, and
business is the basic problem with which the author deals as he explores
the relatedness and interrelatedness of the bureaucratic trend in many
fields of human behavior. In line with this, he asks what effect this
trend is going to have on democracy, individualism, freedom, and the
cherished values in a liberal society. The author is to be commended
on the attempt to extrapolate on this trend, but he has not succeeded
in going beyond other notable students in the field of social structure,
such as Alvin Gouldner and Philip Selznick.

NICK MASSARO
Long Beach State College

WORKER SATISFACTION AND DEVELOPMENT. A Case Study of
   Work and Social Behavior in a Factory Group. By A. Zaleznik. Boston:
   Harvard University, pp. xiv+148.

This is a study of behavior in an industrial work group. Its purpose is
to demonstrate through description and diagnosis how social organiza-
tion develops. The study takes place in a typical work setting composed
of fourteen men and their foreman in a machine shop of a small indus-
try. The technological organization of the shop emphasizes individual
work assignments which require little interaction between workers. The
workers represent wide differences in social background, age, technical
skill, job responsibility, and rates of pay. In spite of the limited demand
for teamwork imposed by the work situation and the diverse backgrounds
of the workers, a clearly defined social structure developed to permit
workers to satisfy interaction needs and mutual support. Because of the
absence of a work challenge to the individual's creative capacities, only a
limited worker involvement was developed in the job.

Two major hypotheses were developed from this study. (1) In the
absence of major demands a group will spontaneously order its relation-
ships to achieve a minimum of efficiency. In this it must meet the

management's minimum expectation of the job and satisfy the workers' social needs. (2) In the absence of any leadership challenge, work groups will tend to be "frozen" at the minimum level of effectiveness which will lead the workers to eventually become dissatisfied with such an adjusted pattern of work life. This study is an important piece of research for students interested in the social aspects of working groups. The hypotheses could probably be applied to other types of social groups as well.   WOODROW W. SCOTT

George Pepperdine College

THE MIGRATION OF SYMBOLS. By Count Goblet d'Alviella. With 161 illustrations. New York: University Books, 1956, pp. xxiii+277.

This is a reprinted edition, without change, of a book published in 1894. Although it does not take cognizance of the new materials relating to the subject that have appeared in the past sixty years, it is still recognized as an important work "in explaining what a symbol is, how it has served a culture," how it changes, and how it may be "carried from place to place from an original beginning." The Belgian author discusses "symbols common to different races," the widespread appearance of the swastika, the causes "of alteration in the meaning and form of symbols," the transmutation of symbols. A symbol is defined "as a representation which does not aim to be a reproduction." It has come to mean anything that conventionally represents "something or somebody."

E.S.B.

OPINIONS AND PERSONALITY. By M. Brewster Smith, Jerome S. Bruner, Robert W. White. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1956, pp. 294.

This research monograph is an attempt to discover what relationships may exist between opinions and personalities of ten adult normal men in their middle life. Briefly, the investigators asked, "What function is served in each life by holding a particular set of opinions about Russia and Communism?" These social scientists feel that opinions have a relationship to personality structure. Thus, the manner in which a person copes with his problems is the most revealing thing about him. Three patterns were discerned between feeling and its control in matters of opinion: (1) in some cases thinking was predominant over feeling, (2) in other cases feeling was predominant over thinking, and (3) in still other cases both thinking and feeling were constricted. The conviction is expressed that more is known about attitude measurement than about what makes an attitude.   E.C.M.

THE DEMOCRATIC MAN: SELECTED WRITINGS OF EDUARD
   C. LINDEMAN. Edited by Robert Gessner. Boston: The Beacon Press,
   1956, pp. ix+390.

Robert Gessner, friend and colleague of Eduard Lindeman, has
performed the arduous but rewarding task of examining this social
scientist's voluminous manuscripts. His book constitutes the only collec-
tion in print of Lindeman's various writings.

Lindeman's versatile genius showed itself in his activities as social
worker, philosopher, pioneer in adult education, discussion leader,
writer, and teacher. Welding together his manifold interests were a
humane enthusiasm for social betterment, belief in scientific intelligence,
and lasting concern for the vitality of democratic processes. A social
philosopher interested in the practical application of philosophy, his
writings encompassed educational theory, religion, recreation, group
work, and world peace. In this volume of representative readings,
topics are organized under such theme titles as "The Democratic Way
of Life," "Groups Are People," "Social Work in Action," and "De-
mocracy as Morality."

Social scientists and community group leaders, as well as the general
reader of liberal outlook, will appreciate this collection of writings. A
biographical sketch is included and a good chronological bibliography
is appended.   JOHN E. OWEN
                                          Florida Southern College

SOCIAL CONTROL. Social Organization and Disorganization in Process.
   Revised Edition. By Paul H. Landis. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott
   Company, 1956, pp. viii+473.

A special need for social control today comes from a partial break-
down of the primary group "brought about by the growth of great
cities." Another tendency calling for social control is "the rapid secular-
ization of industrial society." Even the family "has lost most of the
pressures which have held man and woman together in earlier society."
One hopeful change is noted by the author, namely, the development of
suburbia where man is "re-establishing many parallels to the old primary
group life."

In this revision, "sex and class statuses as factors in social control,"
the administrator as a factor in institutional control, the control of
adolescents and youth, and the control of organic drives are given
separate chapters. There is also a new concluding section on "new ven-
tures in discipline" and on "the prospect of social science improving
social control."   E.S.B.

VOLUME 3: BETRIEBSKLIMA. Eine industriesoziologische Untersuchung aus dem Ruhrgebiet. Frankfurt-Main, Germany: Europaeische Verlagsanstalt, 1955, pp. 120+33 tables.

The smallest volume of the *Beitraege* presents the research and results of the *Betriebsklima* as sociologists found it in industry belonging to the Hugh Mannesmann factories. The material encompasses more than 1,000 individual interviews and over fifty tape-recorded group discussions. The volume aims to transmit to the reader the essence of empirically oriented social research and its yardstick for the validation of results. Among the interesting topics of research and discussion, the reader will find the relationship between *Betriebsklima* and wages, loyalty to place of employment, a "subjective" reflection of a "complex" of codetermination, the relationships between the superiors and their colleagues, and, finally, the problem of identification with the company based on prevailing conditions.   HANS A. ILLING

AMERICAN SOCIAL LEGISLATION. By John D. Hogan and Francis A. J. Tanni. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1956, pp. xxi+713.

There have been recent publications on social welfare and social insurance, the labor movement, and the family in which social legislation is discussed, but not since the war has there been a book on social legislation. This is more than a book on the compendium of laws, for the authors describe the forces which have given social legislation its present structure. The largest sections are devoted to the labor movement and labor law, social assistance and social insurance legislation, and an analysis of the American system of social legislation, which are of special interest to industrial economists and social workers. The parts that deal with the meaning of social legislation and its relation to social values, social thought and social movements, and family legislation are of special interest to sociologists.

The authors do more than merely describe legal provisions, although they give good summaries and tables of laws, such as marriage and divorce laws. Their aim is to analyze American social legislation in terms of the social system, social thought, and social movements that have given rise to the legal provisions to meet basic human needs. For instance, "family legislation is dealt with in functional terms, with discussion centering on role changes, need satisfaction, and goal fulfillment." In many ways the book presents an original approach to the subject of social legislation and hence it breaks new ground. This is particularly true of the author's analysis of income security and the

problem of dependent employeeism. The analysis of the effects of social legislation on the individual and the social structure is likewise an important contribution.

Even though the book is especially valuable for social work courses, it has material of interest for courses dealing with social problems, since it is essentially a liaison between them. The book is well organized and brings together an enormous amount of relevant material on important subjects.   M.H.N.

THE COURSE OF AMERICAN DEMOCRATIC THOUGHT. By Ralph Henry Gabriel. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1956, pp. xiv + 508.

In the first edition of this work, published in 1940, a topflight historian attempted to portray the salient features of America's intellectual heritage. The result was a thought-provoking and critical analysis of this country's democratic traditions. This second edition revises and expands upon the theme in the light of the scholarship and the events of the last fifteen years. On any relevant criterion, it is a brilliant study, replete with keen insights and portraits of important individuals and movements. The author, who is Sterling Professor of History at Yale, sees three major tenets running through American life, namely, moral law, individual liberty, and America's democratic example to other nations; the history of these tenets since 1815 is the theme of the volume.

Within the space of a brief review the significant trends and personalities covered by Dr. Gabriel can only be listed. Beginning with the social and intellectual life of the early 1800's, he traces the growth of the main influences in American thought all the way to the Supreme Court desegregation decision of May 17, 1954. Five sections of the book deal consecutively with these major thought currents. The first considers mid-nineteenth century individualism, Emerson, Thoreau, and Melville, naturalism, and the Christianity of the period. The second part is concerned with the social history of the Civil War and the influence of Calhoun and Whitman, followed by a succinct study of postbellum industrialism, Darwinian theory, religious liberalism, the nascent labor movement, Ward and Sumner, the "social gospel," and constitutional law. A later section traces the thought of Josiah Royce, Frederick Turner, and the frontier influence, James, Dewey, and progressivism, concluding with foreign relations up to 1917. The final section is devoted to the post-1918 period, in terms of advancing legal

philosophy, social science, the New Deal, and changes in American thinking since 1940.

A combination of rich scholarship with good writing and readability is apparent throughout the volume. Students desiring a comprehensive view of the continuity of American intellectual traditions would be well advised to read this book. JOHN E. OWEN

Florida Southern College

MONOGRAFIAS DE SOCIOLOGIA PEDAGOGICA. Edited by Martin Rodriguez Vivanco. Havana, Cuba: Universidad de la Habana, Volume 1, Number 1, 1955, pp. 88.

This new publication, devoted to educational sociology, will appear twice a year and will provide basic materials for teachers and college students as a kind of supplementary textbook containing monographic articles, bibliographies, and reports on sociological research in Cuba and Latin America. The materials are in Spanish. The two leading articles in the initial issue are on the Social Origin of Personality and Sociological Factors in Human Conduct. Reviews of sociological articles are included. E.S.B.

THE POWER ELITE. By C. Wright Mills. New York: Oxford University Press, 1956, pp. 423.

Partially a discourse on social ethics and partially a sociological analysis of the structure of power in the United States, this book presents the thesis that the economic, political, and military elite of this country have merged to form a ruling triumvirate of power. This merger is postulated to be associated with and to some degree determined by the sociopolitical vacuum which has resulted as American society has been transformed from a vigorous, nucleated, politically enlightened "public" to an apathetic, undifferentiated, intellectually spineless "mass society." The two major unifying forces responsible for consolidating this merger have been (1) the exchange of membership in power positions that has occurred between the top levels of the three hierarchies and (2) the social interchange which has taken place between the elite as they have congregated in their exclusive "locales of status."

The forte of this volume is its broad perspective and provocative insights; the weaknesses are its mixing of rhetoric with sociological analysis, its resort to biased terminology (e.g., labeling business executives as "corporate commissars"), and the continual indiscriminate confounding of objectively verified facts and unsustained presuppositions.

R.A.E.

INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF CRIMINAL POLICY. New York: United Nations, No. 9, 1956, pp. 175.

The three main articles (which are in English) deal with The Treatment of Juvenile Delinquents in Australia and New Zealand, The Educational Aspects of Juvenile Delinquency, and The Detection of the "Pre-delinquent" Juvenile. The first is a survey of the meaning and legal aspects of delinquency, services for juveniles, courts and administrative bodies with jurisdiction over juveniles, and treatment institutions in Australia and New Zealand. The second presents educational aspects of delinquency, especially the problems of educational maladjustments which are treated in their broader aspects. The methods of detection are briefly described in the third paper. Possibly the most important contribution to the knowledge of crime and delinquency is the extensive bibliography, consisting of 1,295 references.   M.H.N.

THE AMERICAN SOCIAL SYSTEM. Social Control, Personal Choice, and Public Decision. By Stuart A. Queen, William N. Chambers, and Charles M. Winston. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1956, pp. xii + 494.

The usefulness of this text will extend considerably beyond the freshman social science survey course for which it is intended. The authors have skillfully succeeded in doing three things at once—introducing the social sciences, indicating the main facets of the organization of American society, and explaining how social control affects individual and group behavior.

The book might serve as a text for courses in social control, since the theme indicated in the subtitle is carried consistently through the discussion. A broad picture of American social organization is presented by showing how the various social institutions influence choices made by individuals. Political and economic controls are emphasized in nine chapters, while a chapter each is devoted to the family, education, religion, social stratification, and collective behavior.

The coverage of social science has been limited largely to sociology, economics, and political science, with some material from anthropology and social psychology. The usefulness of the concepts, data, and methods of these fields is demonstrated by showing how they help explain social behavior. Attention should particularly be called to the final chapter, which gives a brief but unusually lucid and comprehensive treatment of the nature of science and of the justification for attempting to apply scientific methods to the understanding of human society.

BRUCE M. PRINGLE
Southern Methodist University

MEASURING BUSINESS CHANGES. By Richard M. Snyder. New York:
John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1955, pp. xvii+382.

Labeled as a handbook of significant business indicators, this book,
written primarily for businessmen, should be valuable to all persons
interested in the world of commerce. Over fifty key indicators are
described and explained for the benefit of those who would like simple
interpretations and forecasts of conditions in world trade. Changes in
national income and product, population, business, construction, and
financial activity have been subjected to meaningful and descriptive
expositions. Some important barometers of the state of business within
the economy are the Census estimate of total unemployment; the trend
of personal and business incomes as well as that of total government
spending; the Federal Reserve index of industrial production; depart-
ment store sales indexes; and the lending and investing activities of
banks. The author is associate economist with E. I. du Pont de Nemours
and Company.   M.J.V.

CONCEPT OF FREEDOM. Edited by Rev. Carl W. Grindel. Chicago:
Henry Regnery Company, 1955, pp. vi+512.

In this volume there are fourteen scholarly contributors besides the
editor. The subjects treated include the metaphysics of freedom, the
psychology of freedom, the internal freedom, freedom and theology, but
it is the general theme of external freedom (social freedom) that will
be of greatest interest to sociologists. This section treats the relations
of freedom to government, law, international society, economic systems,
labor, education, and the expression of the beautiful.

Regarding academic freedom, it is contended that a college professor
abuses his position and deserves dismissal if he persists in teaching to
students theories that are "false and antithetical to the policies of the
university, or persists in presenting matters deemed false by the majority
of the most intelligent minds of the ages." In international matters an
International Bill of Rights is advocated and ultimately an international
court with power "to declare illegal national laws" that violate this
international law. A great question before the world today is "whether
man will be able to rise to moral heights commensurate with his scientific
accomplishments or whether he will allow the atom to become the tool
of his Neanderthal inheritance." The most perfect freedom that a
person can enjoy "is the right to choose and to follow that course of
conduct which is laid down for him by the Creator." The authors are
distinguished Catholic thinkers and present their concept of freedom in
a clear and dignified style.   E.S.B.

METHODS IN THE STUDY OF ADMINISTRATIVE LEADERSHIP. By Ralph M. Stogdill and Carroll L. Shartle. Columbus, Ohio: Bureau of Business Research College of Commerce and Administration, Ohio State University, 1955, pp. xv+77.

This well-prepared monograph describes methods devised for the determination of what leaders do, and for measuring relevant dimensions of organization in leadership situations pertaining to a wide variety of organizations. The manual itself undertakes to present seven different methodological procedures which have been employed in the study of military and business organizations: the interview, organization charts, sociometric methods, RAD (responsibility, authority, delegation) scales, work analysis forms, leadership behavior descriptions, and effectiveness ratings. The discussions reveal that these were designed for "the study of organization in terms of the status, behavior, and personal interactions of the members" involved in the research situations. Evaluations of the methods are made, and brief descriptions of the applications of such are given. This is one of a series of the Ohio State Leadership Studies initiated in 1945 and still being carried forward.   M.J.V.

PREFACE TO EMPATHY. By David A. Stewart. New York: Philosophical Library, 1956, pp. 157.

As chief psychologist in the Bell Clinic in Toronto, the author develops what he calls a "personal psychology." Empathy is judged to play a vital role in "personal knowing," that is, in knowing the other person and in knowing one's own person. Empathy is defined as "deliberate identification with another, accompanied by growing insight into both oneself and the other." The process of empathy is viewed as a technique that is necessary for interpersonal communication. Without empathy a person is "locked in isolation, in solipsism, and personal identity is lost."

The criteria of empathy are said to be "illustration in action, absence of control over the person to be known, and mutual personal growth," and "the ground of empathy is goodwill, and its goal, freedom in fellowship." Empathy is "a basic psychological process and a postulate of all ethics." Empathy between two persons is effective if they agree that they are "communicating well."

The author relates his theories to Freud's "identification" concepts and suggests therapeutic procedures. Considerable background discussion is offered that will not seem essential to many readers. The author astutely remarks that if any part of his "personal psychology" is not understood, it is because the reader is not empathizing with the author regarding the given idea.   E.S.B.

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

INTRODUCTORY SOCIOLOGY. Fifth Edition. By R. L. Sutherland, J. L. Woodward, and Milton A. Maxwell. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1956, pp. xii+598.

One chapter in this revision has been rewritten and some changes, mostly minor, have been made in the others. Two features of previous editions have been retained, namely, of burdening the beginning student with a modicum of sociological theory and of writing so as "to communicate with the student and not just with the professor."

RESEARCH COUNCILS IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES. Paris: Unesco, 1955, pp. 54.

Reviews briefly the activities of social science research councils in thirteen countries, including the United States.

THE INTERNATIONAL REGISTER OF CURRENT TEAM RESEARCH IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES (1950-1952). Paris: Unesco, 1955, pp. 312.

Over 1,000 research projects in fifty-five countries are recorded in this extensive and useful undertaking.

ADULT EDUCATION IN TRANSITION. A Study of Institutional Insecurity. By Burton R. Clark. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1956, pp. 202.

This study is based on an examination of the adult school organization in Los Angeles. Continuing insecurities of adult schools in California come from attacks from the State Legislature and from competition from community colleges. A number of recommendations are advanced.

FIELD PROJECTS AND PROBLEMS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL FOUNDATIONS OF EDUCATION. By Celia B. Stendler. New York: The Dryden Press, 1956.

The fourteen units in this workbook cover such topics as The Class Structure of American Society, Minorities in American Society, Social Class in School, Problems in Intergroup Education, Pressures and Attacks upon the Schools, and The Social Function of the Schools.

BETWEEN TWO BRIDGES. A Study of Human Relations in the Lower East Side of Manhattan, the Area Served by the Educational Alliance. By Rhetta M. Arter. New York: New York University, 1956, pp. 40.

Reports on what a community thinks of itself, what its inhabitants do in their leisure hours, and what the community thinks of social agencies.

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